

BULLETIN OF
THE JOHN RYLANDS
LIBRARY
MANCHESTER

EDITED
BY THE
LIBRARIAN
(HENRY GUPPY)

VOL. 26 OCTOBER—NOVEMBER, 1941

No. 1

NOTES AND NEWS.

IN the absence of the Journal of the University of Manchester, the publication of which has been suspended again this year on account of the war, the Vice-Chancellor (Sir John S. B. Stopford, F.R.S., M.D., D.Sc., Sc.D.) has issued a message to his Fellow Graduates in the form of a printed letter, in which he has communicated much news of the activities and aims of the University.

THE UNI-
VERSITY OF
MANCHESTER.

We print this letter in full, for we are assured by many of the readers of the BULLETIN, especially those overseas, including many graduates, that pages devoted to news of the doings of the University are very welcome, since, in many cases, it is their only means of keeping in touch with their Alma Mater :

“DEAR FELLOW GRADUATE,

“Once again I have to ask you to accept a news-letter in place of the Journal which has been sent out to all graduates in the years before the war.

“At the meeting of the Court in November it was possible for Sir Ernest Simon, our Treasurer, to state that we were able to start the second year of war in as strong a position as we were in at the outbreak of hostilities. This was a fortunate and unexpected state of affairs, but our difficulties have steadily increased, as can be expected, during the present session. The difficulties and problems have been faced by all with courage, determination and quiet confidence, and so far full facilities for teaching and research have been maintained without any loss of efficiency.

“The number of students entering last September showed a further reduction of 10 per cent.—a similar figure to that experienced in the previous year—but to these must be added

men sent to the University for special intensive full-time courses by the War Office and the Air Ministry. By a scheme arranged with the War Office we receive every six months a selected group of candidates for commissions in the Royal Corps of Signals, who for a period of about twenty-four weeks attend special classes which have been provided by the Faculty of Science to meet their particular needs. During the time they are at the University, these men live in a Hall of Residence and enjoy all the privileges and opportunities afforded to other students. They have played an active part in Union and Athletic Union affairs and are members of the Senior Training Corps. The second group of candidates arrived early in April, and it can be said that the scheme has proved an unqualified success. Our visitors have enjoyed and profited by their residence in the University, and they have been valuable and popular members of our community.

“More recently a similar arrangement has been made with the Air Ministry for men who are to join Air Crews as pilots, observers and gunners. They attend special courses to meet their requirements, live in a Hall, and are members of the Air Squadron which was instituted in February.

“The Squadron is under the command of Wing-Commander Rhodes, and is housed in the old O.T.C. premises in Lime Grove, which have been reconditioned, with additional accommodation for the erection of Link Trainers and a lecture room on a site adjoining the University. The institution of the Squadron aroused much interest and there was a gratifying response from the students, and the numbers are steadily increasing. A course totalling 200 hours is provided, and on completion, if a member obtains his certificate of proficiency, he can be recommended for commissioned rank in the R.A.F. This initial training saves from two to three months and the men go direct from the Air Squadron to a flying training school. The Squadron has its own aircraft and actual flying instruction has begun.

“The Senior Training Corps (the new name for the O.T.C.) has had a very busy year, and it is fortunate that they were able to occupy their extensive and attractive new premises about eighteen months ago. The War Office has augmented the staff

under Major Drummond, the Commanding Officer, the grant has been increased and more field training is available.

“Both the Senior Training Corps and the Air Squadron work under the one Military Education Committee, which ensures full co-operation and complete harmony. Both are linked with the Joint Recruiting Board which, under the chairmanship of Professor Pugh, has done such excellent work. The primary function of this Board is to make sure that the services of every student are ultimately used to the best advantage in the national interest. The Board is charged with the maintenance of a supply of trained scientists and technicians for industry and the fighting forces. Up to the time of writing between 1600 and 2000 formal interviews have been conducted and some 3000 applications dealt with by the Board.

“In order to meet the great demand for scientists, doctors and dentists, it is likely that the numbers in the Faculties of Science, Technology and Medicine will be fully maintained next session. A reduction in the numbers in the other faculties is to be anticipated, but arrangements have been made by which well-qualified students in cultural subjects will be able to enter the University, and proceed with their studies for at least a year. In future, with few exceptions, all reserved students are compelled to undertake part-time service in the Senior Training Corps, Home Guard, Air Squadron or Civil Defence Services.

“The burden which the teaching staff has had to bear has been an ever-increasing one. In addition to the withdrawals, to which reference was made in my letter a year ago, there has been a continuous depletion throughout the session. I wish it was possible to give some information about the important and highly responsible work which is being done by members of the teaching staff in Government departments and the Services. The reduction of staff has now reached a point at which it may be necessary to telescope some of the classes, and to reduce some of the alternative courses, but we are determined to avoid at all costs any lowering of standards.

“Practically every fit member of the teaching and service staffs is engaged in A.R.P. duties at the University, and many

of them are in the Home Guard or acting as Wardens, or in a similar capacity, in their own districts as well. Our A.R.P. service has received most valuable help from the students, and without their aid we could not have maintained the service, since it has been found necessary to have at least 50 men on duty on the main site every night. The A.R.P. scheme has been fully tested on a number of occasions, and it can be said that expeditious and skilful work has saved us more than once from severe fires. Although we have escaped fires, our buildings have suffered from the effects of H.E. bombs. In the autumn a bomb descended upon the new Centre for Recreation and Physical Education, but fortunately it failed to explode, and the damage done was limited and has been fully repaired.

"At the time of the heavy raids in December extensive damage to windows occurred on the main site, especially in the region of the Medical School, Chemistry department and new Dental Hospital. More serious results were experienced in York Place, where considerable damage was done to the medical departments in that region, and to other property owned by the University. One of these departments had to be evacuated permanently and two others temporarily. But as alternative accommodation was generously provided by the Public Health Committee and the Medical Officer of Health of the City, there was no serious interruption of work. Other University property, including Ashburne Hall and Lister House, suffered minor damage.

"The effects of the intense raids during the winter months upon the teaching hospitals led to considerable disorganisation of the clinical instruction of medical students, and for a time makeshift arrangements had to be made. These difficulties have now largely been overcome by the promise of the use, for teaching purposes, of wards in one of the new hospitals set up by the Emergency Medical Service. These beds will supplement those still available in the teaching hospitals, where most of the instruction will continue to be given.

"Although the total damage to University property is not inconsiderable, we were able to give some aid to those who fared worse than we did. The complete destruction of the premises

of the Literary and Philosophical Society, and the loss of their unique treasures, was a sad blow, and we have provided them with temporary accommodation. Help was given to our friends at the Royal College of Music whilst they were repairing damage done to their building; and following the demolition of the offices of the North-Western branch of the W.E.A., we have been able to house their staff and assist them. In addition, it was possible to give some assistance to the city. In October we offered some of our shelters for use by the public when not required by us. For many months one or more of our shelters have been in constant use at night by the public, and they have been staffed by students. At the time of the Blitz we provided a rest centre, and one has now been set up permanently on the premises, and can be opened at once when required. It is staffed by women members of the staff and the wives of the staff, and Miss Schill is the superintendent. The Refectory is also prepared, in the case of great emergency, to provide large numbers of meals to be served at national restaurants.

“ Inevitably much of this letter is concerned with the effects of the war, but it is necessary to point out that in spite of all the difficulties, and a constant effort to support the national effort, we are not standing still or forgetting the future. During the present session new ordinances and regulations governing the 1st M.B. have been put into force, by which recognition is given to certain approved courses of study taken at school. Thus some students will be enabled to sit for one or more subjects of the 1st M.B. examination, immediately before entrance to the University. The saving in time will permit a number of better students in the Faculty of Medicine to take an Honours degree in Science, before they qualify in Medicine. The benefits of this to Medicine, as well as to the individuals themselves, are obvious. The Faculty of Science has extended the honours school of General Science by adding two additional sections, and others are under consideration. During the past months the heads of departments in each Faculty have been giving much thought to future policy, developments and reconstruction after the war, and a combined report is to be presented to Senate immediately. Our object in doing this

is to be in a position to undertake the important responsibilities which will confront us, during the period immediately after the war.

“The extent and scope of the work being done by the Agricultural Advisory department have greatly increased, and further land has been rented at Warburton. Recently, the land which was previously rented for the Horticultural department at Lower Withington in Cheshire as a country garden, has been purchased, and this has enabled us to make more permanent plans for the future. The war has had the effect of making more widely known the interests which the University has in both agriculture and horticulture, and we can look forward to further developments in these fields in the future.

“During the year a change has been made in the constitution of the Governing Body of Ashburne Hall, with the object of bringing the Hall into much closer contact with the University. Owing to illness, Miss Mitchell, the Warden, found it necessary to resign during the summer vacation, and we were fortunate to procure the valuable help of Mrs. Coatman who, at considerable inconvenience to herself, acted as Warden during the Michaelmas and Spring terms. We are much indebted to her for all that she has done, and we are glad to know that she is able to remain a member of the Ashburne Hall Committee. In April, Dr. Edna M. Lind took up her appointment as Warden, and has already become a popular member of the staff.

“It is with much regret that I have to report the impending retirement of Professor J. Murphy, who vacates the chair of Comparative Religion in September. Whilst in Manchester he has done great work in the Faculty of Theology, where he was for a time Dean of the Faculty, and we remember with gratitude the support he was ever ready to give to all good causes within and without the University. He will be succeeded by Dr. L. E. Browne, who comes to us with a first-hand knowledge of several Eastern religions, and who has been long recognized as an authority on the Islamic religions.

“All of us who are working at headquarters send greetings and good wishes, particularly to those who at the present time are isolated from their friends. We look forward to the day

when we can have a happy reunion, and go forward with plans for the further development and betterment of our University."

In an address at the degree ceremony for Graduates in Science, Medicine and Technology held at the University of Manchester on Saturday, the 5th of July, the Vice-Chancellor (Sir John S. B. Stopford) said that there was a pressing need to-day for doctors with an extensive training in the fundamental sciences, and that the University had introduced new regulations which enabled students of Medicine to save a year by taking one or more of the four subjects of the First M.B. examination at school before entering the University.

MEDICAL
STUDENTS
AT THE
UNIVERSITY.

Sir John expressed the hope that the students would use the year thus saved to take an Honours degree in Science. This degree should be taken both in the interest of the individual and of Medicine. It could be done, and the medical degree could be taken in six years, the normal length of the medical course if the year was not saved.

Sir John also announced that the Faculty of Science had extended the scope of the Honours School of Medical Science by adding two new sections, specially framed for medical students.

These sections, with the specialised Honours Schools in Anatomy, Physiology, Chemistry and Psychology, would offer a wide range of choice to medical students and Sir John trusted that many would take advantage of these important opportunities.

It was essential that these developments should be well known in the schools and by all who intended to study medicine.

The announcement of the honour of knighthood which His Majesty, the King, has been pleased to confer upon the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Manchester has given the greatest possible pleasure and satisfaction, not only to his colleagues on the staff and to the students of the University, but also to an ever widening circle of friends elsewhere.

SIR JOHN
S. B. STOP-
FORD, F.R.S.

Sir John Sebastian Bach Stopford, F.R.S., M.D., D.Sc., Sc.D., who had occupied the Chair of Anatomy in the

University of Manchester since 1919, was on the 15th of May, 1935, appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University, in succession to Sir Walter Moberley, upon his appointment to the Chairmanship of the University Grants Commission. The appointment was welcomed by every branch and section of the University, and in announcing the appointment the then Chancellor, the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, acclaimed Professor Stopford as possessing great assets and notable qualifications which are going to carry him triumphantly through, a forecast which has been abundantly verified.

Sir John is a Lancastrian and was born at Hindley Green, near Wigan. He is an old boy of the Manchester Grammar School, and a graduate of the University of Manchester. It is probably unique that having entered the University as an undergraduate he has, in unbroken succession, passed through the various stages of graduation, membership of the assistant staff, appointment to a University Chair, and to the Vice-Chancellorship, a career which has now been crowned by the conferment of a knighthood.

We take this opportunity of wishing Sir John and Lady Stopford still many happy years of life in which to enjoy the distinction they have so richly earned.

The announcement of this honour has also given pleasure to Sir John's colleagues on the Council of Governors of the John Rylands Library, of which he is Chairman, and to the writer of this note who has enjoyed his friendship and confidence throughout the years of their happy association in the administration of this institution.

Sir John was appointed to a seat on the Rylands Council in 1934, as a representative of the University. In 1936 he was elected Chairman of the Council, and in 1938 he was appointed a Trustee of the Library, and has rendered incalculable service to the institution in these various capacities.

The present year marks the tercentenary of the visit which Jan Amos Komensky (Comenius), the great Czech philosopher and educationist, paid to this country at the invitation of the British Parliament, a visit which was interrupted by the Civil War.

JOHANN
AMOS
COMENIUS.

Comenius arrived in England on the 20th of September, 1641, and it was on Tuesday, the 23rd of September, 1941, that the tercentenary was observed in the Rylands Library by a special meeting, at which Mr. James Lewis Paton, sometime High Master of the Manchester Grammar School, gave a lecture on "Comenius—the Tercentenary of his Visit to England," at which Sir John S. B. Stopford, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Manchester, presided.

Mr. Paton's lecture is printed elsewhere in the present issue, but we cannot resist the temptation to emphasise the passage with which he concluded his lecture from the last of the writings of Comenius, *Unum Necessarium*, "I thank God I have been all my life a man of aspirations . . . for the longing after good, however it spring up in the heart, is always a rill flowing from the fountain of all good—from God".

Some of the activities of the Library have had, of necessity, to be curtailed, but there are others, including the publication of the BULLETIN, which it was felt ^{CARRYING ON.} could and should be continued.

The appearance of the present issue, although somewhat belated, is an expression of that feeling.

It is, in its humble way, a challenge to Názism and Fascism, an affirmation of the principle that our cultural activities must and shall continue.

There are those who declare that the times are too serious for any other interest than the claims of national service, and that it is our duty to give what help we can to the war effort and suspend other activities until happier times.

That is a serious challenge and it merits serious consideration. The men of military age will find one answer, but those of us whose usefulness is limited to other forms of service will find another.

We are living in times when history is in the making; we may wish we were not, but we are.

Historians of the future will seek to portray the spirit of England in these days, and we can supply the indispensable material they will need from which to form a picture of how,

even while the clouds grew darker over Europe, we kept the lamp of intellect burning brightly by carrying on our various services.

We are proud to be able to say that at a time when civilisation is being stamped into the dust over a great part of the Continent our Universities are cherishing and supporting the finest values of human life.

This is a symbol of the interests and the ideals that Britain is determined to restore and to maintain in Europe.

Since the publication of the last normal issue of the BULLETIN the Library, in common with the whole world of scholarship, has sustained a great loss through the death of Dr. James Rendel Harris, which took place on Saturday, the 1st of March, at his home at Selly Oak, Birmingham, in his ninetieth year.

JAMES RENDEL HARRIS.

Rendel Harris was born at Plymouth in 1852. He was educated at Plymouth Grammar School and Clare College, Cambridge, where he became Third Wrangler in 1874. In the following year he was elected Fellow, and in 1878 Lecturer of his College, serving afterwards as Moderator and Examiner in the Mathematical Tripos. His distinctive bent soon carried him into a different sphere. He threw himself ardently into biblical and patristic studies, giving special attention to textual criticism.

Brought up a Congregationalist he passed into the Society of Friends, and in 1880 married Miss Helen Balkwill of Plymouth, a well-known "minister" of that Society.

Early in 1882 Dr. Harris left Cambridge for the United States where for three years he held the Chair of New Testament Greek at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, later becoming Professor of Biblical Language at Haverford College, Pennsylvania.

About this time he began to issue the long series of studies dealing with primitive Christian documents, which carried him into the front rank of New Testament scholars. His "Study of Codex Bezae" (1890) was a masterly piece of research, and he never ceased to maintain the importance of the "Western"

text as against the Westcott and Hort School, which was dominant thirty years ago. In 1891 he published the lost Greek Apology for Christianity which Aristides wrote in the second century, and which Dr. Harris had the good fortune to find preserved in a Syriac version on Mount Sinai.

In 1893 Dr. Harris returned to Cambridge, where for the next three years he was University Lecturer in Palæography. He also travelled extensively in the East in search of manuscripts. On one occasion, accompanied by Mrs. Harris, he visited Armenia to find out what Sultan Abdul Ahmid was really doing in massacring Armenian Christians, and there they organised and administered relief for widows and orphans after the massacres. He was several times at Mount Sinai. As one result of these visits he became co-editor with Professor Bensley and Professor Burkett of the "Four Gospels in Syriac transcribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest" (1894), which had been discovered in St. Catharine's Convent by Mrs. Agnes Lewis.

In 1903 Dr. Harris was appointed Professor of Theology at Leyden, but a few months later he became Director of Studies at the Woodbrooke Settlement for Social and Religious Studies at Selly Oak, near Birmingham. He was elected President of the Free Church Council in 1907.

Notwithstanding these interludes Dr. Harris continued to pursue his favourite studies with unabated ardour. In 1909, in the course of a visit by a continental scholar, while looking along Dr. Harris's shelves together they discovered a little Syriac manuscript, which had stood there unidentified for several years, the provenance of which could no longer be determined. Upon closer examination it proved to contain the well-known "Psalms" and the lost "Odes" of Solomon, a collection of Christian hymns which has been assigned to the first century A.D., although the manuscript itself is of the seventeenth century; it was the earliest surviving manuscript of the "Odes," which are thought to represent the first blending of Judaism and Christianity. The text with an English translation was first published in 1909. Between 1916 and 1920, in collaboration with Dr. Alphonse Mingana, the definitive edition of the "Odes"

was issued, consisting of a facsimile in collotype of the manuscript, accompanied by a transliteration of the text, a revised English translation and an exhaustive introduction dealing with variations, patristic testimonies, and a survey of the most important criticisms which had appeared since its first publication. In the meantime the manuscript had been acquired from Dr. Harris for the Library, and the definitive edition was issued as one of the Rylands publications.

In the field of anthropology and folk-lore Dr. Harris investigated the legend of the Dioscuri, and in "The Cult of the Heavenly Twins" (1906) and "Boanerges" (1913) he showed, with a considerable amount of certitude, that many pairs of saints in the Christian Calendar had their origins at places where the cult of the Dioscuri flourished. More recently he published a series of lecture articles on the origins of the cults of Dionysos, Apollo, Artemis, and Aphrodite, culminating in "Picus who was also Zeus." Four of these studies were issued together in one volume in 1917, under the title "The Ascent of Olympus."

In November, 1916, Dr. Harris arranged to join his friend Professor James Hope Moulton in India, whither he had gone at the invitation of the Parsee community to lecture to them. He started out on the *City of Birmingham*, but suffered a severe shock through the sinking of the ship by the self-constituted apostles of culture in the Mediterranean. His health suffered as a result of exposure in an open boat and he decided to remain in Egypt to await the return of Dr. Moulton, so that they might travel home together. In April 1917 they sailed in company, from Port Said, on the *City of Paris*, which, in turn, was torpedoed and sunk in the Mediterranean, the younger man of the two succumbing to exposure in an open boat, the other, the senior by many years, who ministered to his friend in his last moments, being spared to return to Selly Oak.

During Dr. Harris's stay in Egypt, awaiting Dr. Moulton's return from India, he was actively engaged, at the writer's suggestion, in hunting papyri for the Rylands collection, and he succeeded in making, what have proved to be, some very important finds, including fragments of what has proved to be

the earliest known papyrus of Deuteronomy (in Greek) of the second century B.C. Fortunately, he did not attempt to bring these finds with him, but left them in safe custody in Egypt until they could be transferred to England without risk.

In March, 1918, on the occasion of his retirement from the Directorship of the Woodbrooke Settlement, Dr. Harris was invited to settle in Manchester and join the staff of the Rylands Library, where his ripe and varied scholarship would be of inestimable service to the institution, and where, for seven years (until 1925), he enjoyed a sheltered life and was able in a congenial atmosphere to continue to pursue and round off many of his investigations.

His lectures to ministers given in the Rylands Lecture Hall were much appreciated by those to whom they were addressed, and also by the wider audience who followed them in their printed form in the pages of the BULLETIN.

In 1916 Dr. Harris published the first volume (followed in 1920 by the second) of "Testimonies." Dr. Harris regarded a Testimony Book as the first Christian book to be written, and considered that its influence is to be traced not only in the Fathers, but throughout the New Testament, and that it may be identified with the "Logia" attributed to St. Matthew. It may not be without interest to remark that amongst his latest finds of papyri was a fragment of a Testimony Book of the fourth century.

Dr. Harris also took a prominent part in organising the celebration of the "Mayflower Centenary" in Holland as well as in this country, and he sought to prove that the actual timbers of the ship which carried the Pilgrim Fathers to Plymouth, Massachusetts, are still preserved, built into the ancient barn at Jordans in Buckinghamshire.

Dr. Harris was elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1927, and received honorary degrees from Dublin, Leyden, Haverford, Birmingham and Glasgow.

In 1925, in response to a cordial welcome extended to him by his old friends at Woodbrooke, Dr. Harris returned to the Settlement with which for so many years he had been actively associated.

In the later years of his life his sight gradually failed him, but he was not dismayed, and until the last was mentally alert and able to take part in the discussion of subjects in which for so long he had taken a leading part. This was made possible through the eyes and pen of a devoted lady secretary, Miss Sherlock, who for many years, and until the end, had given herself to assist him in his investigations and to enable him to keep in touch with his correspondents, and with the movement of thought. Indeed, it is to this lady and her mother that the friends of Dr. Harris owe a deep debt of gratitude for their self-sacrificing devotion in caring for him during the years of his growing weakness.

As one of his friends writes of him: "Dr. Harris will be remembered by a wide circle of colleagues and students as a great student. He had the rare gift of absorbing and of imparting knowledge with equal grace. In all matters he held decisive and unshakable principles, but he revered the ideas and doctrines of others. He had a great capacity for friendship with the learned and the unlearned alike."

We regret to have to record the death, after only two weeks of illness, of John Ramsay Bryce Muir, another valued friend of the Library, which took place on Saturday, the 3rd of May.

RAMSAY MUIR.

Ramsay Muir, a son of the Presbyterian Manse, was born at Otterburn, Northumberland, in 1872. He was educated at University College, Liverpool, and proceeded to Oxford as a Balliol Scholar, where he gained a double first in *Litt. Hum.*, and *Mod. Hist.* He became Lecturer in Modern History at Owens College in 1899, and from 1900 to 1906 he was Lecturer in Modern History at Liverpool. In 1906, when Liverpool University obtained its Charter, Muir was appointed the first Professor of Modern History, the Chair which he held until 1913, when he was recalled to Manchester as Professor of Modern History, a position he held until 1921, when he gave up his professorship to take up politics actively, and devoted himself to Liberalism. His views and the conclusions of a group of Manchester Liberals were stated by Muir in "Liber-

alism and Industry " (1920). He unsuccessfully contested Rochdale in 1922, but was returned the following year only to lose his seat in 1924. He again stood unsuccessfully in 1929, and in 1931 and 1935 he fought the Scarborough Division. Throughout these years, although he continued to write books on history, such as his notable "History of the British Commonwealth," in 2 volumes (1920-22), he gave most of his time to speaking, writing and working for the Liberal party. In 1929 he succeeded Sir Herbert Samuel as Chairman of the Party Organisation Committee, from 1931 to 1933 he was Chairman of the National Liberal Federation, and from 1933 to 1936 its President. Muir devoted his efforts to inspire the party with new zeal. Both as speaker and writer he was indefatigable. He was a man of light and leading, a brilliant scholar and always a teacher. His appeal was always to the intellect never to those emotions which are so quickly aroused in a political contest. He never compromised with truth, and in the pursuit of truth incidents like success and failure at the polls were trivial.

Professor Muir's work at Liverpool was notable for the encouragement he gave to the study of local history. He wrote an excellent short history of the city and collaborated in a book on the development of its municipal government. In Manchester his interests lay largely in the history and government of the British Empire. With his "Makings of British India" in 1915, it was his avowed intention, with the help of his honours students, to produce an authoritative life of Warren Hastings, and to that end, with his help and that of the Secretary of State for India, a great collection of literature upon the history of India was brought together. Unfortunately, although some beginnings had been made, the project had to be abandoned in consequence of his retirement from the University in 1921.

From 1917 to 1919 Muir served as a member of the Calcutta University Commission.

Muir had a very facile pen, and in addition to the works already referred to he published among others: "Britain's Case against Germany," 1914; "Nationalism and Internationalism," 1916; "The Expansion of Europe," 1917;

"National Self-Government," 1918; "Liberalism and Industry," 1920; "Politics and Progress," 1923; "America the Golden," 1927; "British History," 1928; "Rohan the Great," 1929; "How Britain is Governed," 1930; "Political Consequences of the Great War," 1931; "The Interdependent World, and its Functions," 1933; "A Brief History of our own Times," 1934; "The Record of the National Government," 1936; "Civilization and Liberty," 1940.

The death at Cambridge on Wednesday, the 7th of May, of Sir James Frazer, O.M., the distinguished anthropologist, was followed twelve days later by the death of Lady Frazer, who for nearly half a century had been his devoted companion and collaborator.

SIR JAMES FRAZER, O.M.

They were married in 1896, but before their marriage Lady Frazer had been intimately associated with her husband's work, and by their death the science of anthropology and comparative religion has sustained an incalculable loss.

James George Frazer was born in Glasgow in 1854, and was educated at Helensburgh, the University of Glasgow, and Trinity College, Cambridge. After taking the Classical Tripos he was elected a Fellow of Trinity, in 1879, and was called to the Bar, which he did not choose to follow, although his father wished him to do so.

Frazer was devoted to research, and the story of his life may be said to be in his published works, which number 284, in the last of which he collaborated with his wife, who had a gift of her own, in a fairy tale. But the record of his work does not end with that long range of published work, for deposited in the British Museum are seventy note-books filled with his exquisite script—a treasure house for posterity to explore.

Young Frazer, who was intended for the Law, came early under the influence of Robertson Smith, the Biblical Scholar and Orientalist, and went his own way, with the result that the study of primitive sociology and religion became the chief preoccupation of his life. In 1884 his love for the classics was revealed in his first published work, which was a revised edition

of Long's "Sallust," but the work by which more than any other he lives, "The Golden Bough: a Study of Magic and Religion," was issued in 1890. At the outset he intended the "Golden Bough" to be merely an essay, but in attempting to solve one problem he was led into other problems, with the result that volume followed volume and a great series of works on a variety of topics gathered under his "Golden Bough."

He was a tireless worker—he rose at five and worked all day. He had no hobby, no pastime, no social life outside his work. He retired at midnight—if then. Reading and writing he devoured pages of print and reams of blank paper. His eyes weakened by the constant strain he placed upon them until they were literally worn out. While he had his sight he never dictated nor used a typewriter. He wrote with a common steel pen, filling book after book with his copperplate script.

He was happy and extremely fortunate in his help-meet, for during the forty-four years of their married life Lady Frazer devoted herself to caring for him. She adapted herself to his early rising—getting up at four o'clock to prepare for his work. She organised his typists, arranged for such human contacts as were inevitable, and because he disliked the fuss of servants, she was housemaid, housekeeper and cook. When his eyes failed him she gave him her eyes, reading for him and writing for him.

He was blind but still he worked. His wife was stone deaf, but aided by an electric box to enable her to hear, she still worked for him and with him. In spite of these disabilities the stream of books still went on until a total of two hundred and eighty-four volumes had been reached.

It is said of Frazer that, apart from Darwin, he altered the whole mental make-up of modern man more than any other scholar, and was perhaps the greatest of our teachers of comparative religion. He wrote on the Bible, on ancient beliefs, on modern survivals of primitive thought, on Addison, and on Greek and Latin prose. He slew superstition by revealing why primitive man was superstitious.

Frazer's classical scholarship is evident in all his writings, but few of his later works dealt exclusively with classical

subjects. His translation of and commentary on Pausanias's "Description of Greece" (1898) was a monument of scholarship, and in 1929 he returned to the classics with the five volumes of the "Fasti" of Ovid, but it was as an anthropologist that Frazer was best known.

Sir James received many academic honours which came to him unsought. He was admitted to the fellowship of the principal academies of learning throughout Europe, including our own Royal Society and British Academy. He was knighted in 1914, and was accorded the Order of Merit in 1925.

Scholars from many lands came to honour him on his 83rd birthday, and on the walls of the room in which he received his guests, boughs of the mistletoe, specially brought from Norway, were hung as the emblem of his life work, "The Golden Bough."

Sir James gave great pleasure to a Rylands audience by lecturing to them on "Belief in Immortality," but it was not so much the lecture in which the overflowing audience were interested as in the rare privilege of seeing the creator of "The Golden Bough" in the flesh.

By the death of Sir Henry Maxwell-Lyte, at the age of 92, which took place on the 28th of October, 1940, English historical scholarship has lost a figure of outstanding significance.

SIR HENRY MAXWELL- LYTE.

Educated at Eton and Christ Church, he took up historical studies after obtaining his degree in 1870. His interest in Eton led to his history of that foundation (1877), and to a model calendar of the Eton muniments, which appeared in a report for the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1883. With this Calendar was also published a similar one of the documents belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral. Largely as a result of his work for the Historical Manuscripts Commission he was appointed Deputy Keeper of the Public Records by Lord Esher, Master of the Rolls. In this office he did pioneer work both in organising the Public Record Office, and in planning and supervising the many calendars, lists and indexes of the public records, which have been so great a feature of its work.

As one of the leaders in this provision of the apparatus for present-day historical studies, Sir Henry Maxwell-Lyte deserves a high place in the thoughts of all historical writers. He retired from this office in 1926.

Sir Henry's historical writings were very numerous. They include several valuable "Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission," "A History of Eton College" (1877); "A History of the University of Oxford" (1886); "A History of Dunster" (2 vols., 1909); "Notes on the Great Seal of England" (1926); and "Some Somerset Manors" (1931). He was also responsible for the Record Office edition of "The Book of Fees," and was a frequent contributor to the publications of the Somerset Record Society.

By the death of Theodore Wesley Koch, Librarian of Northwestern University, Illinois, which took place at Evanston on the 23rd of March, 1941, the profession of librarianship, of which he was a master, has sustained an inexpressible loss.

THEODORE WESLEY KOCH.

In the memorial address delivered at the funeral services at Evanston, on the 26th of March, Dr. Franklin B. Snyder, President of Northwestern University, of which Koch had been librarian since 1919, paid a beautiful tribute to our friend, and we cannot resist the temptation to reproduce some of the most significant passages of Dr. Snyder's address.

"Theodore Wesley Koch was the type of man who makes a university distinguished, and whose influence for all that is good is felt throughout the community of which he is a citizen. He was a scholar in his own right, and an indefatigable helper of other scholars. He was a master of his profession, who understood not only the technique of library administration, but also the potential significance of a library as a cultural centre. He was a gracious public-spirited human being, thoughtless of his own comfort and welfare, a spendthrift of his own time and energy whenever he could be of aid to others, and he was a man whose genial humanity enriched the life of everyone fortunate enough to be admitted to the privilege of his friendship."

"Of his devotion to scholarship those of us who were his

colleagues can give adequate testimony. We knew the merit of his own work: his studies of Dante, begun while he was still in the Harvard Graduate School, carried on for many years and brought to fruition by the publication of significant monographs and bibliographies, his contributions to the literature of his profession, his history of books on the Great War. His Scholarship was of that rare sort which combines the critical function with the creative and places details in proper relationship and subordination to the whole. We knew his scholar's conscience, his dislike—yes his contempt—for work that was shoddy or that made pretensions to a merit it did not possess. We delighted in his appreciation of the artistry of scholarship.

“Of his eminence as a librarian, there is equally good evidence. He went into library work before library schools had taken their present large place in the American educational system; consequently it was inevitable that he should go through what one might call an apprenticeship in the profession—learning the manifold and perplexing details of administration, not from text-books and lectures, but by performing them himself. As bibliographer of the Dante collection at Cornell, as assistant in the Library of Congress, and as assistant librarian of the University of Michigan, he qualified himself for full membership of his chosen guild; and when larger opportunities presented themselves he made a brilliant record as librarian of the University of Michigan, and chief of the order division of the Library of Congress. His leadership among librarians was fitly recognised by his election to the presidency of the American Library Institute, and by his selection as consultant to a score of institutions eager to have the benefit of his counsel. . . .”

“Koch was not one to think that the techniques of library administration could be absorbed off-hand, and casually added to the scholar's equipment in the form of a little embroidery on the academic gown. Nor did he think that a knowledge of these techniques alone was enough stock-in-trade for a librarian. He understood that sound scholarship was the foundation, and that technical knowledge was the superstructure, and that neither alone was sufficient.”

" . . . His was a simplicity of spirit, a childlikeness, which everyone who knew him found appealing. Unfailing gentleness, too, there was in his nature, but gentleness that was blended with great strength. Quiet and self-effacing as he seemed, Koch was a magnificent fighter for the things in which he believed. He makes one think of Chaucer's Knight, that 'gentle' warrior whose life was spent in the service of Truth and Honour and Generosity and Courtesy, from whose lips no churlish word had ever fallen, but who had always slain his foe in battle."

" . . . Without realising what he was doing, thinking perhaps that he was merely solving the recurring problems of library administration, he spent his life building himself into all the future of the library that he loved, and of the University that was proud to claim him as her own. Or, put it this way: during the years in which he worked for us and with us Koch quite unconsciously was making all the arrangements for his own immortality."

At the request of Koch's family the President was asked to read in his memory the four stanzas of "Crossing the Bar," that express in Tennyson's flawless verse Koch's own desire that on an occasion like this the note of sorrow and regret should be touched on but lightly.

He concludes his tribute with these lines: "'No sadness of farewell.' Of course not! No farewell, even. Only our thanks to you Theodore Wesley Koch, for all you have done and all you have been; and good luck to you on the high adventure which Death reserves for spirits such as yours."

Oriental scholarship has suffered an irreparable loss through the death of Sir Edward Denison Ross, at the age of 69 years, which took place on the 23rd of September, 1940, at Istanbul.

SIR EDWARD DENISON ROSS.

Edward Denison Ross was born at Stepney. He was educated at Marlborough and University College, London, but proceeded to Paris and Strassburg to study Oriental languages, in particular Arabic and Persian, where he laid the foundation of a career in which he contributed more than any

other Englishman of his generation to the encouragement of Oriental studies in this country.

From 1896 to 1901 he occupied the Chair of Persian at University College, and in 1901 he was appointed Principal of the famous Calcutta Madrasah. In 1911 this post was combined with that of Officer in charge of Records of the Government of India and Assistant Secretary of the Department of Education. A Fellow of Calcutta University and an active member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal he broadened his studies so as to include an acquaintance with Sanskrit and Chinese and a more profound knowledge of Tibetan.

Perhaps the most noteworthy work he did arose from his desire to procure a fuller measure of collaboration between Indian and European scholars.

He was made a Companion of The Order of the Indian Empire in 1912, and returned to England in 1914 as an Assistant in the Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum. Here he was entrusted with the work of arranging the collection brought back by Sir Aurel Stein. He was knighted in 1918 in recognition of his work in India, and during the war.

The foundation of the School of Oriental Studies and African Studies in London, in 1938, with Ross as its first Director, gave him the opportunity of making London the centre of Oriental and African Studies in the Empire, and Ross rose to the greatness of the occasion.

As Director of the School Ross had the supervision of the Library and the editorship of the "Bulletin"; the former to-day contains upwards of 100,000 volumes, and with the latter he created a journal which is regarded all over the world as of the highest repute. In this way Ross became an ambassador of Empire.

With the Directorship of the School Ross held, from 1916 to 1937, the University Chair of Persian. Under his inspiration many students were attracted to Persian, and his varied literary output bears witness to his versatility. His efforts for the Persian Art Exhibition in 1931, which helped so greatly to its success, produced his popular account of Persian art. He contributed many articles in the "Cambridge History of India," and in

1935 the Royal Asiatic Society awarded him its Gold Medal in recognition of his great services to Oriental scholarship.

His appointment in January, 1940, as head of the British Information Bureau at Istanbul with the rank of Counsellor gave him great joy, for it gave him the opportunity of once more serving his country among a people for whom he had always felt much sympathy, and with whose great leader Kemal Atatürk he had formed a personal acquaintance.

Ross was a man of great parts and possessed a personality which made itself felt in any company.

He had an exceptional facility for learning languages; indeed, the number he knew became almost legendary. He could read thirty, speak ten fluently, and lecture in six.

It is said of him that he loved the good things of life and loved to see others enjoying them. He was devoid of envy, and his greatest delight was to give a helping hand to others on the road to scholarship and learning, and he found as much joy from their success as from his own. He was a great man !

His literary activity was very varied. In collaboration with Ney Elias he translated the "Tarikh-i-Rashidi" of Mirza Muhammad Haidar, Dughlát, cousin of the Emperor Baber, who founded the Mogul Dynasty in India; with F. H. Skrine he published "The Heart of Asia"; he translated "An Arabic History of Gujarat," and "The Poems of the Emperor Bahur." Other works were "Islam," "The Persians," "Eastern Art and Literature," and "The Life and Times of Omar Khayyam."

Oriental scholarship has sustained yet another great loss through the death of Sir George Grierson, which took place at his home at Camberley, on Saturday, the 8th of March, 1941.

<p>SIR GEORGE GRIERSON, O.M.</p>
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George Grierson was born near Dublin in 1851, and was educated at Shrewsbury and Trinity College, Dublin, where he had a brilliant career. He studied Sanskrit and Hindustani under Professor R. Atkinson, and, when in 1873, he entered the Indian Civil Service it was the Professor who suggested to him the life work of making a survey of the various Indian tongues.

For more than twenty years Grierson performed the ordinary duties of a collector and magistrate in various districts of Bengal and Bihar, but his leisure was devoted to work on the language, dialects and literature of the people among whom he moved. When in 1898 the Government of India took action on the resolution passed by a Congress of Oriental scholars sitting at Vienna in 1886 and made preparations to carry out a linguistic survey, Grierson was placed in charge of the work. The next thirty years of his life were devoted to this immense and unprecedented undertaking, which required a combination of scholarship, organising skill, and knowledge of Indian conditions. The survey covered a vast field, much of it unknown. Even in the long-civilised plain of Northern India very little work had been done on the Northern Sanskritic vernaculars and dialects spoken by some hundred millions of people, and in the hills there were confused multitudes of strange tongues, many of which had never been reduced to writing.

Grierson's task was to classify and describe all the languages and dialects spoken, and to give information as to the numbers and habitat of the speakers. For this purpose it was necessary to get through from the local offices adequate samples of the languages and dialects everywhere spoken, to analyse, compare, and classify these, and to edit the result in a form serviceable to scholars. In all, 179 languages and 583 dialects were revealed by a survey which excluded Southern India and Burma. The labour was immense, but in 1928 Grierson had published the final volume of his survey, which was intended to be both an introduction and a valedictory address.

On the completion of his work Grierson received the Order of Merit. In 1912 he had been made a K.C.I.E., and his own and other universities, and many learned societies did him honour.

His principal publications were : "Seven Grammars of the Bihar Dialects"; "Bihar Peasant Life"; "The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan"; "The Languages of India"; "Linguistic Survey of India"; "Pisaca Languages of N.W. India"; "Manual of the Kashmiri Language"; etc.

We offer a cordial welcome to the vivid biography of Mrs. Hester Lynch Thrale Piozzi, which Mr. James L. Clifford has recently issued through the Oxford University Press.

HESTER
LYNCH
THRALE
PIOZZI.

Mr. Clifford has presented us with a volume of absorbing interest, much of the material for which has been drawn from the contemporary evidence which is preserved in the large collection of "Johnsoniana" in the Rylands Library.

The picture which has been so skilfully drawn for us of Johnson's "Dearest Mistress" has done something to correct the distorted and misleading views of other biographers, by throwing a flood of light upon the intimate relationship which existed for more than twenty years between the Thrale family and their trusted friend and adviser, especially upon the life at Streatham Place, which both Johnson and the Thrales delighted to call "home."

The energetic Welsh woman who looks out from the pages of Mr. Clifford's volume has many claims to be remembered. She possessed a boundless vivacity and a never satisfied curiosity which nothing could destroy. She was interested in practically everything: politics, literature and religion, but like Dr. Johnson she found people and social relationships the most fascinating study of all, and as a result she has left an enduring record of people and events of the age in which she lived.

It was this lady's friendship with the "Doctor" which furnished her with her greatest claim to remembrance.

Writing from Ireland in 1792 Richard Musgrave paid a tribute to this lady which may be quoted: "In my opinion the British nation are much indebted to you for having kept him [the Doctor] alive so long, for I am convinced from the infirmities which he had joyned to his singularities, and the neglect of himself which were so well known, that he would have died many years before he did but for your unremitting care of his health."

The period with which this volume deals was one of the great ages of English life and letters. It enshrined Doctor Johnson and the woman of whom he wrote: "that he counted the friendship she and her household showed him among the major felicities of a troubled existence"; and many other

entertaining characters who gave distinction to its social and literary life, figure in this volume.

It is gratifying to learn that the Treasury grant-in-aid to the Universities is to be maintained for the current year at the same level as that of 1939, namely £2,149,000.

TREASURY
GRANTS TO
UNIVERSITIES.

The vital part played by the Universities in the life of the community and the essential contribution which they are making in a variety of ways towards the national effort has led the Government, on the strength of a report from the University Grants Committee, to reach the conclusion that if the Universities are to continue their present contribution to the national effort the provision for 1941 must be maintained at the existing level, despite the increasing strain on the national finance.

In an address delivered recently to the Cymmrodorian Society Dr. H. Idris Bell, C.B., F.B.A., Keeper of the Manuscripts, and Egerton Librarian, British Museum, declared that if we were blind and foolish enough to let Welsh perish then never again would the Welsh people fully express its deepest emotions.

DIFFICULTIES OF
THE TRANSLATOR.

"Was translation impossible?" asked Dr. Bell. "In the full sense I believe it is. Just as every true poem is unique, so is every language unique, expressing shades of thought and feeling to which no other is adequate; and the disappearance of any language means the impoverishment of the human race.

"Welsh writers writing in English may produce work greater than anything yet written in Welsh, but it will not express all that they have in them to say, and the Welsh people of the future will be hopelessly cut off from their own past, deaf to the most authentic voice of older Wales.

"The translator of a poem could not transfer it intact to his own language; what he could do was to write a corresponding poem in that language, a poem so well answering to the effect produced by the original as to make them feel that if its author had written in the translator's tongue that was the sort of poem he would have written.

"The most characteristic and individual contribution which Wales has made to the poetry of the world is its verse in the native or 'strict' metres. There is nothing really comparable with this outside the Celtic nations in any European language; and it is important that this should be adequately represented in translation. Unfortunately, because it is so characteristically Welsh, it is the most difficult to translate."

We have received through the courtesy of Sir Humphrey Milford a study by James Emerson Phillips, Junior, on "The State in Shakespeare's Greek and Roman Plays," published by the Columbia University Press as no. 149 of their "Studies in English and Comparative Literature."

SHAKE-
SPEARE'S
GREEK AND
ROMAN
PLAYS.

This study is an attempt to determine what Shakespeare has to say about kings and kingship, in which the author has certainly clarified Shakespeare's treatment of kingship.

The political theories with which Shakespeare was familiar claim special attention from us in that it is possible to discern points of resemblance between them and totalitarian theories of the present day.

To maintain that certain concepts were generally prevalent in the sixteenth century and to label them with the term "Renaissance" does not mean that they were peculiar to that period. They have a history extending back through the Middle Ages to the thinking of Greece and Rome.

The main purpose of the first half of this interesting study is not that of an historical survey of political theories but an examination of those theories as they were known and understood in Shakespeare's day, and to arrive at an understanding of the full significance of Shakespeare's political expression.

It is a very learned examination of Shakespeare's conception of the State as it is manifested in his five plays based on Greek and Roman history, and we are grateful to Mr. Phillips for it.

The impartiality of Shakespeare's treatment of rulers and ruled is a consequence of his definite partiality for the whole State and its well-being.

We note with pleasure Mr. Phillips's reference to the fact

that Professor H. B. Charlton, a constant contributor to our pages, is recognised among the few scholars who have suggested that problems of political theory may constitute a vital factor in dramatic technique. He further quotes Professor Charlton's view that the fundamental principles conditioning the form of life he is displaying in his political plays are essentially those principles of social and political order accepted by the majority of his contemporaries.

The greatest tribute ever paid to libraries is being paid to-day by Hitler. He is afraid of them, afraid of the contribution they make to the mind and the spirit of man. He is afraid of the truths they contain !

THE NAZIS'
TRIBUTE TO
LIBRARIES.

In Poland it would be hard to estimate the destruction of the instruments of culture which has already taken place. By this means he is striking at the heart of a nation that produced such genius as that of Madame Curie, Chopin, and Sienkiewicz. Part of the National Archives in Warsaw was taken to Germany. 100,000 volumes relating to education, the Treasury archives, 120,000 volumes relating to official matters, and agricultural plans are a total loss. The fixed plan of devastation has extended to every corner of Poland, and what has already been accomplished is only partial.

In Paris the German Gestapo have swept clean the shelves of the libraries of all anti-Nazi writings and much historical and philosophical literature. A four-day purge of public and private libraries took place in Alsace, in December last, with the books destined for a ceremonial bonfire. From the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Germans are reported not only to have purged its shelves, but to have demanded and received an inventory of manuscripts, rare books, etc., stored elsewhere in France for security during the war.

These are only a very few of such reports which are reaching us from the Continent. They demonstrate in an unmistakable way the Nazis fear of books as devastating spiritual weapons.

In this country we cannot allow our cultural life to stop. Many sacrifices are inevitable, but that one is not.

If through the years of the war with Napoleon Britain had

allowed her pens to be silenced many of the greatest works that make her literature illustrious would never have seen the light.

When the Germans occupied Belgium one of the first acts of the military administration was to order the withdrawal from use in schools of all books "which THE NAZIS IN BELGIUM. refer to relations between Germany and Belgium in terms contrary to historical truth and to the German conception of honour." It is evidently against "German Honour" to state that in 1914 Germany invaded Belgium in pronounced violation and contempt of her solemn treaties, her promises and her engagements.

Revision of existing books and the writing of new ones could not be carried out with that speed and care which the Germans demanded so that, as a temporary measure, books are being used with all pages cut out which make reference in any way to the last world war of 1914-18.

The following is a list of publications issued by the Governors of the Library since the appearance of our last issue.

They consist of reprints of articles which have appeared in the pages of the BULLETIN, and include a number of studies of great interest and importance in the departments of history, literature and religion, with which they deal.

RECENT
LIBRARY
PUBLICA-
TIONS.

By reprinting them in this way they are given a new lease of life.

It is undoubtedly true that in every library there are many important contributions to literature such as these, which are simply buried and neglected because by an accident of birth they appear in the pages of some periodical or some composite volume, where they are lumped together, often without any distinguishing title-page, or disguised under some misleading title.

Every monograph recovered from this buried material adds to the available resources of the library, and often is of more value than the purchase of new volumes.

- "Race and its meaning in Europe." By H. J. Fleure, D.Sc., M.A., F.R.S., Professor of Geography in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 16. Price one shilling net.
- "The Evolution of the Art of Printing in commemoration of the 500th anniversary of the Invention of Typography." By Henry Guppy, C.B.E., Litt.D., Librarian of the Rylands Library. 8vo, pp. 46, with eighteen facsimiles. Price two shillings net.
- "Twice Raped Louvain." By Henry Guppy. 8vo, pp. 6. Price sixpence net.
- "A Short account of the recently discovered copy of Edward Hall's 'Union of the Noble Houses of Lancaster and York.'" By Alan Keen. 8vo, pp. 8, with facsimile. Price one shilling net.
- "The Captivity of a Royal Witch: the Household Accounts of Queen Joan of Navarre, 1419-21." By A. R. Myers, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., Lecturer in Medieval History in the University of Liverpool. 8vo, pp. 24. Price eighteenpence net.
- "Early Navigation: its Extent and Importance." By Edward Robertson, D.Litt., D.D., Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 24. Price eighteenpence net.
- "Rashi and the English Bible." By Erwin I. J. Rosenthal, Ph.D., Special Lecturer in the Department of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 32. Price eighteenpence net.
- "The Chinese Sages and the Golden Rule." By H. H. Rowley, M.A., D.D., B.Litt., Professor of Semitic Languages in the University College of North Wales. 8vo, pp. 34. Price eighteenpence net.
- "The Hatton Wood Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library." By F. Taylor, M.A., Ph.D., Keeper of Western Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library. 8vo, pp. 25, with one plate of seals. Price eighteenpence net.
- "Some Manuscripts of the 'Libelle of Englyshe Polycye.'" By F. Taylor, M.A., Ph.D. 8vo, pp. 46. Price two shillings net.

- "The John Rylands Librarian." By H. B. Charlton, M.A., Professor of English in the University of Manchester, and Trustee and Governor of the John Rylands Library. With a Bibliography of the writings of Henry Guppy, by T. Murgatroyd. 8vo, pp. 42, with portrait. Price eighteenpence net.
- "The First Forty Years of the John Rylands Library." By Moses Tyson, M.A., Ph.D., Librarian of the University of Manchester, formerly Keeper of Western Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library. 8vo, pp. 22, with three plates. Price eighteenpence net.
- "Testamentum Bibliotecarii." By Sir Frederic G. Kenyon, G.B.E., K.B.C., F.B.A., F.S.A., sometime Director and Principal Librarian of the British Museum. 8vo, pp. 18. Price one shilling net.
- "The Bodleian Library Extension Scheme." By H. H. E. Craster, M.A., D.Litt., Bodley's Librarian. 8vo, pp. 16. Price one shilling net.
- "Around the Earliest Spanish Version of Æsop's Fables." By Guthrie Vine, M.A., Sub-Librarian of the John Rylands Library. 8vo, pp. 24, with three plates. Price eighteenpence net.
- "English Autograph Letters in the John Rylands Library." By W. Wright Roberts, B.A., Assistant Librarian in the John Rylands Library. 8vo, pp. 20. Price one shilling net.
- "The Books and Manuscripts of Scipio Le Squyer, Deputy Chamberlain of the Exchequer (1620-59)." By F. Taylor, M.A., Ph.D., Keeper of Western Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library. 8vo, pp. 30. Price eighteenpence net.
- "Some Notes on Lord Sydenham." By Charles R. Sanderson, B.Sc., M.A., Chief Librarian of Toronto Public Libraries, formerly Assistant Librarian in the John Rylands Library. 8vo, pp. 26. Price eighteenpence net.
- "Index to the First Twenty-Five Volumes of the 'Bulletin of the John Rylands Library.'" Compiled by Thomas Murgatroyd, Assistant Secretary in the John Rylands Library. 8vo, pp. 48. Price eighteenpence net.

In consequence of the lighting restrictions imposed under the Air Raid Precautions the customary series of evening lectures has been suspended, and in substitution the following short series of afternoon lectures has been arranged to commence at three o'clock, during the current session.

RYLANDS
PUBLIC
LECTURES.

Wednesday, 8th October, 1941. "The English Tradition in Literature." By H. B. Charlton, M.A., Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 12th November, 1941. "Psychological Aspects of English Social Stratification." By T. H. Pear, M.A., B.Sc., Professor of Psychology in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 10th December, 1941. "Letters from the War-Front in Ancient Mesopotamia." By T. Fish, Ph.D., Special Lecturer in Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 14th January, 1942. "St. Paul in Ephesus, 4: The Corinthian Correspondence" (*concluded*). By T. W. Manson, M.A., Litt.D., D.D., Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 11th February, 1942. "The Collapse of France in 1419." By E. F. Jacob, M.A., D.Phil., Professor of Medieval History in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 11th March, 1942. "The Priestly Code." By Edward Robertson, D.Litt., D.D., Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Manchester.

The following titles represent a selection of the works added to the shelves of the Library since the publication of our last issue :—

GENERAL
ACCESSIONS
TO THE
LIBRARY.

ART: BENFIELD (Eric), "Purbeck shop: a stoneworker's story of stone," 8vo; BLUNT (Anthony), "Artistic theory in Italy, 1450-1600," 8vo; EPSTEIN (Jacob), "Let there be sculpture: an autobiography," 8vo; GARDNER (Arthur), "Alabaster tombs," 8vo; HENRY (Françoise), "Early Christian Ireland: Irish art in the early Christian period," 8vo; WEISBACH (W.), "Spanish Baroque art," 8vo; WOOLF (Virginia), "Roger Fry (the Quaker in art): a biography," 8vo.

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The principal benefaction of the year was the bequest of the late Dr. Leopold Larmuth, Physician and Surgeon, of Manchester and Gale How, Ambleside, whose death occurred on the 3rd of February, 1941.

The extract from Dr. Larmuth's Will which relates to this bequest reads: "I give . . . free of duty to the John Rylands Library, Manchester, such of my books as they may desire."

The works selected from the library at Gale How number 869 volumes, which form a most welcome addition to the Rylands collections.

Dr. Larmuth's executors were Mr. George Harold Larmuth, and Dr. Frank Augustus Padmore, to whom we offer our thanks for their kind assistance in the selection and removal of the books to Manchester.

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THE MEDIEVAL READER AND TEXTUAL CRITICISM.

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MASTER OF ST. CATHARINE'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

IN Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus* (Book I, Chap. 10) the hero informs us: "als ich das erstemal den Einsiedel in der Bibel lesen sahe, konnte ich mir nicht einbilden, mit wem er doch ein solch heimlich und meinem Bedünken nach sehr ernstlich Gespräch haben müsste. Ich sahe wohl die Bewegung seiner Lippen, hörte auch das Gebrummel, hingegen aber sahe und hörte ich niemand, der mit ihm redete." The passage recalls the situation in Acts viii, 30, where Philip hears the eunuch of Candace reading Isaiah with no visible audience. When we encounter anyone poring over a newspaper, and whispering the words to himself as he laboriously spells his way through the sheet, we set him down as uneducated. It is not commonly realised that this was the manner of reading generally practised in the ancient world and during the early days of Christianity. For these periods the case has been fairly well proved by Josef Balogh,¹ who develops the statements made by Eduard Norden (*Antiker Kunstprosa*, 1898); but Balogh provides very little evidence for the medieval period, and draws most of his evidence from patristic literature. The purpose of this article is to suggest that the ancient practice was continued in medieval times, until it was killed by the dissemination of printed matter, and that the habit of mind which it implies deserves the notice of those who take in hand the editing of medieval texts.

¹ *Voces Paginarum*, Leipzig, Dieterich, 1927, a reprint of two articles in *Philologus*, Band 82, 1926-27, p. 84. Some of the medieval passages quoted in my article are due to Dr. Coulton, who has drawn attention to this subject in his *Five Centuries of Religion* and other works.

Professor Vinaver contributed to the *Studies presented to M. K. Pope*¹ an article upon textual emendation in which he analysed the mental processes incident to the copying of a manuscript, and showed with much penetration how such mistakes as those classified under the names "homoioteleuton", "ditto-graphy" and similar aberrations can occur. But this ingenious analysis and the diagrams which illustrate it seem to labour under one defect; they assume that the medieval scribe adopted exactly the mental attitude that one of ourselves would assume if he were occupied in copying a manuscript for his own purposes. This was certainly not the case, for the reason that we gain the majority of our information and ideas from printed matter, whereas the medieval obtained them orally. "Sound and sight, speech and print, eye and ear have nothing in common. The human brain has done nothing that compares in complexity with this fusion of ideas involved in linking up the two forms of language. But the result of the fusion is that once it is achieved in our early years, we are for ever after unable to think clearly, independently and surely about any one aspect of the matter. We cannot think of sounds without thinking of letters; we believe that letters have sounds. We think the printed page is a picture of what we say. We believe we ought to speak as we write, and that the mysterious thing called 'spelling' is sacred. . . . The invention of printing broadcast the printed language and gave to print a degree of authority that it has never lost."² We do not even read as the medieval scribe read. If we take a line of printed matter, cut it lengthways in half, so that the upper half of the lettering is exactly divided from the lower half, and hand the slips to two friends, we shall probably find that the man with the upper half will read the line more easily than the man with the lower half; the eye of the practised reader does not take in the whole of the lettering, but merely so much as will suggest the remainder to his experienced intelligence. It is by visual practice that we master the vagaries of English orthography and so-called bad spellers are often those who are misled by inability to exclude auditory reminiscences; people

¹ Manchester, 1939, p. 351.

² A. Lloyd James, *Our Spoken Language*, London, 1938, p. 29.

in doubt may be seen to write down a word on scribbling paper, "to see how it looks", to recover, that is, a visual memory that has become blurred. But was this the mental attitude of the medieval scribe? He was confronted not by the beautiful productions of a university press, but by a manuscript often crabbed in script and full of contractions, and his instinctive question, when deciphering a text was not whether he has seen, but whether he had heard this or that word before; he brought not a visual but an auditory memory to his task. Such was the result of his up-bringing; he had learnt to rely on the memory of spoken sounds, not upon the interpretation of written signs. The manuscript which he copied may have begun with an adjuration to hearers, not to readers; "Or m'escoutés, por Dieu, qui vous dont bone vie". "Or oies, bone gent, li grant et li menor." "Or oez un bel chançon." Works were written for declamation or recitation in public, not for reading à la Macaulay, "with your feet upon the fender". This was the general attitude of the ancient world towards literature and the medieval continuation of it was but natural. The systematisation of rhythm and accent in speech, as formulated in the "cursus", emphasised the belief that the spoken word was alive and the written word was dead, a belief continued by those Roman Catholic priests who, in reading their office to themselves, go through the vocal motions of pronouncing each word, though they do not pronounce audibly. The difference of our point of view is due to the invention of printing and the growth of "the pernicious habit of reading", which has implanted in us a wholly new set of associations.

If the evidence for this habit of mind and action seems scanty, it must be remembered that early testimony is constantly silent upon subjects concerning which we should like to have information, simply because these matters were so universally common as to pass without comment. As evidence falling within medieval times may be quoted the *Rule of St. Benedict*, chap. xlviii, which ordered that monks "post sextam (horam) surgentes a mensa, pausent in lecta sua cum omni silentio; aut forte qui voluerit legere, sibi sic legat ut alium non inquietet", which suggests that the common manner of reading to oneself

meant whispering or muttering. Bernard Pez¹ relates of Richard of Schönthal: "oftentimes, when I am reading straight from the book and in thought only, as I am wont, they (devils) make me read aloud word by word, that they may deprive me so much the more of the inward understanding thereof, and that I may the less penetrate into the interior force of the reading, the more I pour myself out in exterior speech". This is the case of a man who is trying to accustom himself to silent reading and has not yet formed the habit. Johannes Busch, a great monastic reformer (1450), received a reply to a letter, "Predilecte pater Johannes in Windesem! Litera vestra dulciter sonuit in auribus meis".² So Erasmus wrote to the Hungarian Bishop Nicolaus Oláh in 1533, "Oro ut hanc epistolam legas solus nec huic tabellioni quicquam arcani committas";³ the reading of a private letter by the recipient might be overheard. *Legere*, *lire*, and *read* might mean to read or to read aloud; the following passage from Johannes Busch shows *legere* as equivalent to *dicere*; the reformer was on a visit of inspection and was catechising certain members of a congregation: "Tunc dixi, 'estis vos bonus christianus, tunc dicatis Pater Noster in teutonico'. Qui statim cunctis audientibus legit coram nobis Pater Noster et Ave Maria in bono teutonico. Et dixi, 'legatis etiam Credo in Deum'. Et legit Credo per totum in bono teutonico satis expresse. . . . Interrogavi in prandio, 'quomodo rusticus ille tam formaliter scivit respondere?' Qui dixerunt, quod plebanus eorum ipsis iniunxit, ut nullum secum in tabernis prandere seu convivari permitterent, nisi prius Pater Noster, Ave Maria et Credo in Deum diceret. Et tunc inter se de illis mutuo conferebant et ita ea perfecte dicere et intellegere didicerunt."⁴

So in *L'Hystore Job*⁵ (vv. 1644-1647):

Quant tu le prophete liras
tu li orras huquier, au lire,
le terre trois fies et dire :
" Je voel que mes parolles oies."

¹ G. G. Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion*, vol. i, p. 38, from Bernard Pez, *Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus*, 1721, vol. i, pt. ii, pp. 376 ff.

² Johannes Busch, *Chronicon Windeshemense*, von Karl Grube, Halle, 1886, p. 43.

³ Balogh, p. 239.

⁴ Busch, p. 442.

⁵ Ed. R. C. Bates, Yale University Press, 1937.

"When you read the prophet (Jeremiah xxii, 29), you will hear him, as you read, admonish the earth three times and say, etc.". The editor notes "*Lire* ici veut dire, sans doute, lecture à haute voix ; autrement l'auteur n'aurait pas employé le verbe *ouïr*". The statement is made to one person and *lire* is used in the same sense as that given by Johannes Busch to *legere*. Bernard of Morlaix or Morval appears to make little difference between *dicere* and *scribere* in the preface to his great poem *De Contemptu Mundi* ; "cum in meditatione mea non paucos dies et noctes exardesceret ignis zeli, tandem accinxi me, et locutus sum in lingua mea quod animo conceptum diu celaveram apud me. Quippe ego sepe ab sponso audieram, sed non exaudieram :— Sonet vox tua in auribus meis . . . dixi, Domine ut cor meum cogitet ut stilus scribat ut os annuntiet laudem tuam infunde et corde et stilo et ori meo gratiam tuam. Et dixit mihi Dominus : Aperi os tuum et ego adimplebo illud. Aperui igitur os meum, quod implevit Dominus spiritu sapientiae et intellectus, ut per illam vera, per istum perspicuum dicerem." The following¹ is an obvious case of one who reads aloud to himself :

And ek in other wise also
 Ful ofte time it falleth so,
 Min Ere with a good pitaunce
 Is fedd of redinge of romaunce
 Of Ydoine and of Amadas,
 That whilom weren in mi cas,
 And eke of othere mony a score,
 That loveden longe er I was bore,
 For whan I of here loves rede,
 Min Ere with the tale I fede.

There were undoubtedly cases of silent reading ; the well-known instance of Ambrosius described by St. Augustine (*Confessions*, bk. vi, chap. 3) is perhaps repeated in Chaucer (*The Hous of Fame*, ii, 148) :

Thou gost to thy hous anoon,
 And, also domb as any stoon,
 Thou sittest at another boke,
 Til fully daswed is thy loke.

¹ Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, vi, 875. Quoted by Ruth Crosby, *Oral Delivery in the Middle Ages*. *Speculum* xi, i, Jan. 1936, pp. 88-110.

But such practised readers were regarded as exceptional. Further evidence may be seen in the strict rule of silence in the medieval scriptorium. Alcuin wished to protect the copyists of religious texts in the scriptorium at Tours from any distraction of the kind :

Hic sedeant sacrae scribentes famina legis,
Nec non sanctorum dicta sacrata patrum ;
His interserere caveant sua frivola verbis,
Frivola ne propter erret et ipsa manus.¹

This caution may be directed against idle chatter ; but muttering and whispering would be equally objectionable. Dictation was probably but little employed in monasteries as a means of multiplying copies of manuscripts, and where not more than one copy at a time was expected, silence was the rule. At Tournai in the twelfth century, the Abbé Odo had books copied, “ ita ut si claustrum ingredereris, videres plerumque xii monachos juvenes in cathedris sedentes et super tabulas diligenter et artificiose compositas cum silentio scribentes ”.² The arrangement of certain monastic libraries suggests the same purpose. Part of the Cloister was often used for reading and perhaps writing, and was divided into niches or stalls, each to contain a monk and his book. In the Rites of Durham (Surtees Society, vol. 107, 1902, p. 83) a description of this arrangement is given : “ in the north syde of the Cloister from the corner over against the Church Dour to the corner over againste the Dorter dour was all fynely glased from the hight to the sole within a litle of the grownd into the Cloyster garth, and in every wyndowe iii pewes or Carrells where every one of the old monkes had his Carrell severall by himselfe, that when they had dyned they dyd resorte to that place of Cloister, and there studyed upon there bookes, every one in his Carrell all the after none unto evensong tyme ; this was there Exercise every daie ; all there pewes or Carrells was all fynely wainscotted, and verie close all but the fore part which had carved wourke that gave light in at ther carrell doures of wainscott ; and in every Carrell was a deske to lye there bookes on ; and the Carrells was no greater then from

¹ Dümmler, *Poetae Lat. aevi Carol.*, i, p. 320, quoted by Louis Havet, *Manuel de Critique verbale*, Paris, 1911, p. 125.

² Havet, p. 253 ; Lindsay, *Introduction to Latin Textual Emendation*, p. 75.

one stanchell of the wyndowe to another". A similar arrangement was in force in the cloister of Gloucester Abbey. Why this attempt to secure privacy in establishments where the inmates as a rule spent most of their time among their fellows? For the same reason that the reading-room of the British Museum is not divided into sound proof compartments. The habit of silent reading has made such an arrangement unnecessary; but fill the reading-room with medieval readers and the buzz of whispering and muttering would be intolerable.

These facts deserve greater attention from the editors of medieval texts. When the eye of a modern copyist leaves the manuscript before him in order to write, he carries in his mind a verbal reminiscence of what he has seen. What the medieval scribe carried was an auditory memory, and probably in many cases, a memory of one word at a time. Zauner¹ has suggested that this habit has had an influence upon the development of final consonants; "man wird wohl in Afrz. gesprochen haben: *il est arrivez*, aber, *il es morz* (wie etwa *aestimare* nicht *estmer*, sondern *esmer* geworden war), *tot arme*, aber *to muet*. Dass die Schrift davon so gut wie nichts weiss, erklärt sich wohl dadurch, dass die mittelalterlichen Schreiber während des Schreibens die Wörter vor sich hinflüsterten, also wirklich isoliert sprachen." To this cause may be attributed some of the inconsistencies in the orthography of scribes, which were not necessarily due to mere carelessness; if a scribe was copying a text composed in a dialect not native to himself, he was likely to substitute his own auditory memory of the text for his visual impression of it, and to write *er* instead of *ar*, *el* for *al* and the like. Mistakes may be due to this cause, a case of which occurs in *L'Hystore Job*. This work is a French translation of the Latin *Compendium* made by Peter of Blois (to the order of King Henry II of England) from the *Moralia* completed by Pope Gregory the Great in 590. The translator was a Northerner who wrote in the Picard dialect; the MS. which has come down to us was probably not copied from the archetype, but from a copy thereof in certain respects defective. The copyist was also a Northerner; his orthography was inconsistent and the editor considers him to have been

¹ *Leuvense Bijdragen* XV (1923), 3, pp. 77 ff.

“quelquefois plus attentif à sa calligraphie qu’au sens de son modèle” (introd. p. xiv). In vv. 697-701 of the poem he produced an anacoluthon by writing *et* three times instead of *est*. The editor’s explanation illustrates the point of this article: “Il reste à expliquer pourquoi le scribe a écrit *et* pour *est* aux vers 697, 698, et 701. Nous croyons être en présence d’un phénomène qui expliquerait mainte faute ‘orale’ de copie dans les manuscrits et qui, du point de vue psychologique, est des plus vraisemblables : le scribe, *en copiant, se prononçait à lui-même* (editor’s italics) les mots et ainsi, en quelque sorte, écrivait comme si quelqu’un les lui dictait, en effet ; il voyait *est*, il entendait le son approximatif d’e fermé, il écrivait *et*, les deux mots ayant, à cette époque, très probablement le même son. A cet endroit, un tel fait est rendu plus probable par l’état même du texte, car la phrase qu’il copiait est si peu claire qu’un scribe qui n’aurait pas l’original Latin sous les yeux n’y verrait peut-être qu’une série de phrases prépositionnelles toutes d’une même portée. . . .” There are other discrepancies in this scribe’s orthography which might be explained upon the same principle. Instances can be found elsewhere without difficulty ; Paul Meyer’s remarks upon the scribe of the unique manuscript of *Guillaume le Maréchal* (vol. iii, pp. cxxxvi ff.) show that he was an Englishman imposing his own orthography upon a French original which he was copying, and several of his deformations of place and proper names with which he was not familiar are due to his reliance upon auditory memory.

Instances in which the difference between auditory and visual memory can be made a basis for emendation will naturally vary in frequency with the education and capacity of the scribe. On the whole, the orthography of texts in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is surprisingly uniform and suggests an elaboration of rules and a training of scribes more extensive than might have been expected at so early a period. But training and experience varied in different cases. Editors have to estimate and do estimate the capacity of any scribe with whose work they have to deal ; such work cannot be subjected to fixed rules and the authors of it must be treated as individuals.

GUERNSEY : A SOCIAL STUDY.¹

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THE Channel Islands are outstanding remnants of worn mountain stumps of the geologically ancient Variscan mountain system of Normandy and Brittany, composed of rocks highly resistant to erosion and earth movement. Granite and gneiss, red and grey, diorite blue, or sometimes grey with black crystals often veining the granite, give a fine variation of tints to the rocky foundations of the cliffs. Above these rocks there is often a thick cover of orange brick earth, iron stained, forming a brilliant frame for the yellow sands and the blue of the ocean on a sunny day. Caves and bays, rock reefs and sand-dunes variegate the coasts and make navigation a matter of experienced skill, but the most characteristic shore is that of pebbles of all colours of the rainbow, washed up and down, hither and thither by the very strong tides and the Atlantic waves. Tide-races are a dangerous feature of the island waters.

Nowhere do the Channel Islands rise much above the 400-foot level, and the higher land, typically between 200 and 350 feet, is an even top, a plateau without an outstanding hill. Yet are these plateaux furrowed by valleys that do not seem to be the work of their modern trivial rivulets, diminished by drawing off for cultivation, also by construction of mediæval mill-dams. The visible stream often has an artificial course on the side of the valley, while the natural flow is piped under the valley-bottom.

The valleys on the north side of Jersey and on the south side of Guernsey are steep-sided and have rugged rock outcropping on either hand ; those on the north side of Guernsey and on

¹ An amplification of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 11th of December, 1940.

the south side of Jersey are longer, broader and gentler. The steep and narrow ones in some cases open on to pebble beaches, but occasionally their bottom ends have been broken away by the sea and they end in a small cliff.

On the lower coasts, sand-dunes have developed considerably, sometimes damming back water, which forms salt marshes (whence the family name Sausmarez), and, in the case of Guernsey, the north end was cut off from the rest of the island by sea and salt marsh until the latter was reclaimed in the early nineteenth century. So, what with cliffs, dunes and marshes, a good deal of the island is uncultivable, and rather more in Guernsey than in Jersey, though much has been made into good land by the toil of centuries. Even uncultivable areas are often useful, supplying furze for fuel, bedding, salt from salt-pans, and sand from the dunes. It is to unceasing and careful work that fertility is due, the original soils being relatively poor. What that work has meant is shown by the fact that on Jersey's 45 square miles there were before last June 50,200 people, while Guernsey was still more crowded with 40,600 on its 24·5 square miles, a remarkable density for a non-manufacturing area, achieved with modern communications which have made the mild climate a valuable factor in horticultural production. The average rainfall of Guernsey for ninety-six years has been 36·89 inches per annum, with June as the driest month and May and July only slightly wetter. In Britain rain in mid-July may cool the heights and thus make the Atlantic winds continue to shed their moisture as they blow in from the west, but this phenomenon is less marked in the Channel Islands; they are too small to cool the sea winds and too low to make the air rise much. Jersey, sloping south and more easily warmed by the sun than the northward sloping sister isle, owes to this fact and to its situation nearer to the Continent its lower rainfall, averaging only 30·43 inches. In Jersey, May and June are the driest months, with April and July only slightly wetter. October, November and December have most rain in both islands, with a total of 13·86 inches for Guernsey but only 10·88 for Jersey; the autumnal warmth of the ocean waters has more effect in Guernsey. Apart from rainfall, high atmospheric humidity is

an important climatic factor, making extremes of heat and cold more difficult and affecting weathering of rocks and soils.

Jersey is warmer than Guernsey from March to October inclusive, and cooler in December, January and February. As usual near the ocean August rather than July is the warmest month (60.3° F. in Guernsey and 62.6° F. in Jersey) and February the coolest (43.3° F. in Guernsey and 42.8° F. in Jersey). In the severe winter of the early months of 1895 the temperature in Guernsey went down to 16.2° F. and that of Jersey to 13.6° F., but temperatures below 30° F. are rare in Guernsey, and 90° F. may be recorded in almost any good summer in Jersey. As might be expected from their small extent and low elevation, the rainfall of the islands is variable enough to cause anxiety in a land without streams of any size. The conservation of run-off from glasshouses and other measures would give much added security. The month of October, usually the wettest, has occasionally been almost completely dry; and the total rainfall for the year in Guernsey has ranged from 17.66 inches in 1921 to 56.97 inches in 1872. 1921 was a year of warm sunshine through a long summer, but 1899 had a still higher record, 2315.8 hours in Jersey and 2214 hours in Guernsey. Averages for periods over which detailed figures have been calculated give 1910.9 hours for Jersey and 1850.2 hours for Guernsey, in both cases figures well ahead of those of Great Britain's sunniest spots.

Sea-fog is apt to trouble the islands and to impede navigation as early as Easter and especially after the sea has become warm in July. Little local thunderstorms occur very occasionally in Guernsey in summer, but are commoner in Jersey, the slope of which is southward. Hail is very rare, a fortunate factor for glasshouse cultivation, so important, especially in Guernsey. The clear atmosphere after rain is important in that it adds to the amount of sunshine recorded and to the clear starry nights.

The islands, part of the patrimony of William the Norman, became associated with the British Crown as a result of Senlac, and, with slight breaks through French attacks in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, apparently never affecting the whole group at once, they have been attached to Britain ever

since. Their long wars with France, as well as England's tolerance of their customs, have made them intensely loyal. Elizabeth College in Guernsey, with an average of perhaps 150 boys, published, last autumn, a preliminary list of old pupils serving in the forces, and asked for more names. This first list included over 120 officers. It is said in the Navy that there are few ships without a Channel Islander. It is grievous that such a centre of active loyalty should have been occupied by the enemy because it could not be effectively defended against air attacks ; it is specially grievous that so many men in the Army, Navy and Air Force cannot go home to the islands on leave and cannot communicate with their parents who may still be there.

So much for the islands in a general way. On the human side there are so many minor differences between the islands that I have chosen to take Guernsey as my subject, and to refer to Jersey and to the small islands here and there for comparisons.

Jersey has evidence of men of the Old Stone Age, but both islands are notable for their rough stone monuments of the dawn of the age of metal, probably collective tombs of leaders and spirit-repositories as well as ceremonial centres. One has an incised figure on the underside of the capstone. Their close kinship with Breton monuments is very evident in their plans and their contents, and it is certain that they remained sacred for millennia. A relatively late one, *La Grand'mere*, has a woman's bust carved, with fillet and shoulder cape above the breasts, at the top of a standing stone, and it has received surreptitious offerings quite recently. A rougher and older example stands in the churchyard of Ste Marie du Castro. A monument at Le Catiaroc was famous until fairly recently for the ceremonies called Witches' Sabbath, no doubt decadent fragments of ancient religion as Dr. Margaret Murray has suggested. Much folk-lore has gathered around the ancient monuments.

An interesting feature of Guernsey custom until 1837 was the triennial Chevauchée de St. Michel which processed around the island and was supposed to call attention to encroachments, but it also performed special ceremonies such as dances around ancient sacred stones, which shows that here was a survival of

antiquity, even if those stones did often mark the boundaries of manors. Bread and wine were to be provided for the procession, and the pions or pages, chosen for their good looks and arrayed in festive uniform, might kiss women they met, but no woman was to be kissed more than once. Ancient processions in Brittany have become known as Pardons and have some resemblances to the Chevauchée, though the latter has been much affected by the idea of beating the bounds. The ceremony was already of old standing in 1309 so it can hardly have originated as a preparation for the procession of Corpus Christi. Le Perron du Roi, La Table des Pions and Les Grands Moulins are three place-names connected with the procession.

Possible imperial Roman influence is difficult to identify beyond the names in the Antonine itinerary and coins found at St. Samson and in Jersey, possibly indicative of trade. As in the British West generally, the missionary period of Celtic Christianity was a very active time in the islands. Guernsey has churches dedicated to St. Samson and St. Martin de Tours. Jersey has the names of St. Helier, St. Aubyn, St. Martin and St. Brelade; and the churches in both islands are situated near either centres of prehistoric ceremony or springs which are the sources of streams, very precious to the inhabitants, or at havens of the sea. Guernsey seems to have been influenced especially by St. Samson and St. Magloire, the latter of whom had a monastery in Sark (now La Moinerie). It is also noticeable that south-west Guernsey has family names of its own, some of which are also old names of hamlets giving the impression of long settlement; and a few of the names are claimed to be of Celtic derivation. Again the speech of south-west Guernsey is recognisably different from that of the north; the south-west is the most old-fashioned area, with Celtic and probably pre-Celtic elements in its make-up.

It is, however, with the coming of the Northmen that the major part of our story of social life begins. Many a rock or islet has a name ending in *ey* (Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney), *ou* (Jethou, Brecqhou, Burhou, Lihou), or *on* (Buron), and this is evidence of the presence of the northern sea rovers. Other

place-names derived from northern sea rovers include Albecq, Hatenez, Portinfer and the family name of Ogier. As the rovers conquered both continental Normandy and the islands, the two became linked together and connections with Brittany became less important.

In Norman times Guernsey was early divided into two fiefs which had a chequered history, and parts of these fiefs were given to the abbeys of Mont St. Michel (1030) and Marmoutiers-lez-Tours (1048) respectively. The holders of the fiefs were great Norman nobles or churchmen who probably rarely visited the island but governed their manors through local men under a Sénéchal or Bailli for each manor; and the amount of land given to the church increased. The early Norman aristocrats who owned the two fiefs were called Vicomtes but, later on, this was the title of officials of the dukes of Normandy, who were also kings of England. A King's court was held in Guernsey in Henry II's reign under a royal officer helped by the chief tenants, the number of tenants by this time holding direct from the King having increased. The chief tenants were, and are still, summoned also three times in each year to a Court of Chief Pleas. Guernsey also, like other parts of Henry II's dominions, was visited by Justices-in-Eyre to hold assizes, which, while they sat, superseded all other courts. They enquired into the administration, and their questions had to be answered by twelve sworn men, of substance and experience, chosen at first, it is said, from different parts of the island.

When John lost continental Normandy Pierre des Préaux saved the islands for John. Many manors, lay and ecclesiastical, previously held by continental nobles, were forfeited to the King, but the ecclesiastical ones were soon returned and continued in the hands of Norman abbeys until the days of Henry V. The court of Chief Pleas in Guernsey was weakened by the absence of Norman leaders, and the twelve sworn men, magnates of the island, were made into judges (Jurés-Justiciers) for the whole isle, acting under a Governor or Keeper of the Isles, after election for life by the chief people of Guernsey. More recently, election has been through what is in effect an

electoral college. The Governor came to act through a bailiff, and Jersey and Guernsey had separate bailiffs from 1290. Bailiff and Jurés-Justiciers came to be the Royal Court of the island, and the Court of Chief Pleas was maintained side by side with this, the roll of the manors still being called under the old titles of M. L'Abbé du Mont St. Michel, Mme. L'Abbesse de la Trinité de Caen and so on, though, especially since the confiscation of alien priories to the Crown, the King's attorney or procureur has answered for them. Doubts have been expressed concerning the carrying out of the process of expropriation under Henry V.

We know from a document of 1309 that there was a contrast between the houses set close together in the rising town of St. Peter Port, organised as such by 1350, and the houses scattered in the fields in the other parishes of Guernsey. This is interesting, because Alderney has apparently had for centuries an agglomerated village with, around it, open fields divided into strips by balks. Miss S. Harris some years ago suggested that something of this kind may have existed in parts of Guernsey and Jersey, but she found the indications very fragmentary and rather dubious.

The ten parishes of Guernsey were already in existence in Norman times and each developed, as did the royal and the manorial schemes, its twelve sworn men (La Douzaine) to maintain local custom and order. Each has a Connétable, and, if a man has done good service in this onerous office of chief executive officer and honorary policeman, he may be chosen as a Douzenier, an office held for four years with almost inevitable re-election. It is only quite recently that a paid police force was created for the whole island, though the town had long had a few policemen.

The town of St. Peter Port, a fishermen's haven, became much more important after the kings of England lost their ancient patrimony of continental Normandy. The roadstead, protected by Castle Cornet on an outstanding rock, was an invaluable refuge for His Majesty's ships bringing wine from Gascony and taking back corn from England and fish from England and the Channel Islands. Sometimes, already at this period, wine

was stored here. The town was the seat of the Royal Court and other island institutions and, perhaps for this reason, did not develop a typical municipal organisation. The whole island was feeling its way towards a considerable measure of self-government, and the town led the effort, so it did not need to force its authority. Apparently, however, it struggled for and obtained the transfer of the chief island market from a site, the Landes du Marché, near the centre of the island, to the neighbourhood of the church of St. Peter Port.

Under Edward I a pier was built to give shelter from southerly winds, and rock reefs gave protection from the north, while the rock of Castle Cornet sheltered the roadstead from the south. The High Street of the town climbed along the top of a cliff from the church to the manor house, where it forked, the Rue des Forges going inland towards the country, and Le Pollet (named after Le Pollet at Dieppe) continued the line of the Grand' Rue downhill northwards. Near the church and at the far end of Le Pollet were lanes out to the beach and up these lanes the tides would lap their way. The Grand' Rue flanked another steep ascent above it except near the church, where a valley with a stream or *douit* flowed out along a valley with la rue de la Fontaine and, higher up the valley, La Charroterie (cart making) and water mills for grinding corn. South of the church the cliff rose again rapidly to La Tour Beauregard, and also on the north, at the far end of Le Pollet, was another fortification, La Tour Gand. Under Edward III a town wall was to have been built, but one does not really know whether this was done. At any rate, the distinction between town and country was never made very great. *Les Barrières de la Ville* are still marked by incised stones of the year 1700, following an order to roof the town houses with tiles to reduce dangers of fire.

We see, then, that in Guernsey there is a special form of social evolution, characteristic of an isolated spot, in the direction of local autonomy, and including the grafting of ideas and organisations brought in from outside, but expressed here in rather simple fashion with loss of a good deal of the elaboration that belongs to larger regions. Another notable feature, found

in many remote and isolated areas, is the persistence of differences in family names, in speech and in outlook between different parts of this small and heavily peopled island. The fact that a measure of autonomy was maintained even in Alderney and Sark, including the right to tax themselves, shows how far these tendencies developed.

During the Middle Ages there grew on French models an institution of government called *Les États*, i.e. the Bailiff and *Jurés-Justiciers* as the chief public men, the parochial clergy as the second estate and other persons as spokesmen for *Le Tiers État*, i.e. the people. The King had a direct representative styled the Governor, a King's Attorney-General or *Procureur*, *Controle du Roi* or Solicitor-General, and also a *Receveur* to whom feudal dues were paid. The *Receveur* has not sat in *Les États*. The Governor may take part in meetings of *Les États* but has no vote. We cannot follow the evolution of this assembly, but it has come to sit, with partly different constituents, for purposes of election and legislation respectively. For elections of *Jurés-Justiciers*, a considerable number of men of the parishes are called, including the *connétables* as well as all the *douzaines*. For legislation, the *douzaines* send delegates after they have discussed the projected law (*projet de loi*), printed in draft with the agenda of *Les États*, in what is called a *Billet d'État*, circulated by the bailiff. In the twentieth century there have been added eighteen people's deputies, chosen by popular ballot every three years. So a constitution has grown literally from time out of mind, and it gives scope and honour to the able men of the community and, not seldom, to men who, having served Britain overseas, retire to their native island and bring to its public life experience of the world outside. The mild climate, as well as low taxation, contributes to draw these men back home, but there is also here the old rural pride in one's native corner, the pride that in some parts of France has actually gone so far as to make emigration, except perhaps for a time to Paris or some other French city, a rather shameful act. There are remnants of a corresponding feeling in Guernsey, though overpopulation has made emigration a great feature in modern times. The islands also attract imperial civil servants living in

retirement, and some of these play a considerable part in local public life.

The Bailiff and Jurés-Justiciers prepare the legislation, which is often adapted from British law, and one of the Jurés acts virtually as Chancellor of the Exchequer and First Commissioner of Works with office staffs under his control. The same men also judge both civil and criminal cases, but, in the twentieth century, the minor police court work has been handed over to a Stipendiary Magistrate. The Crown officers (*Procureur* and *Contrôle du Roi*) do important work in drafting legislation.

The local government and the local judiciary are thus in part the same men, but it is interesting that this has not subordinated the judiciary to the politician. The politician, in fact, in the ordinary sense, was hardly known in the island until the modern election of people's deputies was organised. Neither is the legislature under the authority of the parliament at Westminster, nor are the island courts under the British Courts of Appeal, but decisions of both can be questioned at need by the King's Privy Council, the link between the islands and their sovereign. The careful islanders for well over a century have rarely had their acts disallowed in this way; British tradition is, moreover, generally respectful towards local authority, especially when it is backed by a long tradition of passionate loyalty. Compulsory militia service has long been established in the Channel Islands.

When it is realised that this Home Rule scheme has grown from early Norman times and took great steps forward after the political separation from continental Normandy, and that, thereafter, the islanders were again and again at war with French ships and armies, it will be understood that the historic enmity towards the French died down slowly in the islands. This was the case especially in Guernsey, in the fine roadstead of which privateers long found refuge and refitted for their work of preying upon French commerce when England and France were at war. The coming of peace has on several occasions meant a period of distress for Guernsey. Privateering on the other hand brought considerable wealth to the island generally

and especially to several families, which gained thence a high social standing. The mediæval defences of Guernsey are specially marked along the east coast where three other castles were built in addition to Castle Cornet already mentioned.

Though Guernsey was linked to Britain and not to France after 1204, the young lawyers of Guernsey have continued to go to the University of Caen to be trained in Norman Law. The ecclesiastical connection with Coutances was interrupted for a short time even before the Reformation ; and it was finally settled, in 1568, under Elizabeth, that the islands should be in the diocese of Winchester with rural deans as of old in Jersey and Guernsey. These deaneries are not in any archdeaconry, so the dean has special authority. In religious matters Guernsey is specially interesting. In Elizabeth's reign efforts were made to place refugees from France in charge of the parishes, because they could speak French as did the people, and because Elizabeth's government hoped for Huguenot support in the event of a war with France. This encouraged a Presbyterian flavour, and a Geneva prayer-book has been an heirloom in some families for centuries ; but it is likely that some young lawyers became imbued with the same Huguenot tradition at the University of Caen, and Huguenot families settled in Elizabeth's reign on lands left partly derelict by the decline of the priory of St. Michel. We hear, too, of a leading Guernseyman going to Calvin at Geneva. Guernsey seems to have welcomed the Reformation under Edward VI but to have disliked its Presbyterian form in Elizabeth's reign. Yet a number of its leading families became Puritans and took the Parliamentary side in the Civil War of the seventeenth century, and drew most of the people with them in the end.

A few families stood for the King, de Carteret in Jersey and Andros in Guernsey being the most notable of these. At the Restoration of Charles II, Presbyterian Guernsey had to eat humble pie and accept the Act of Uniformity and a translation of the Anglican service, but this humiliation did not end the matter. When John Wesley came to the islands about 1780 large numbers flocked to him, and the Methodist Church is very strong in Guernsey though many a member is still half

unknowingly a Calvinist. Some members of leading families, especially descendants of local leaders in the Parliamentary cause in the Civil War, however, instead of becoming Methodists, formed an Evangelical group in the Anglican Church and have maintained at one church the custom of evening communion, the black gown and Geneva bands for the sermon and the objection to turning to the east for the repetition of the Creed. This Low Church tradition has been very strong in the island and is here given as an instance of that continuity in the minds of the people which we have already noticed in their institutions.

A similar continuity is a marked feature in the island families and even in their locations within the island. In the south-west the family names of Robilliard, Sarre, Quéripel, Gallienne, de Garis are characteristic; even recent movement has not made them common in other parts of the island. In the north Hocart, Ogier, Collas, Lemaitre, Ozanne are old established, and, in some cases, seem to be family names of Huguenot refugees of the time of the St. Bartholomew massacre. In the east and south-east the old-established de Sausmarez manor and the names of Careye, de Havilande, de Beauvoir, de Jersey and Mauger are among the most noteworthy. The name Careye occurs in a document dated 1110 and that of de Jersey also in a twelfth-century document; that of de Sausmarez is as old in the island. The first de Garis in Guernsey came from Bayonne to be Receveur des revenus du Roi for Edward I and married the heiress of a farm, "Les Rouvets", the venerable house of which still has a fine round arched doorway in dressed granite. Recently this property has passed, once more through the female side, to the head of another old Guernsey family, and this is said to be only the second change of name of ownership in some 700 years or more.

One factor of this continuity is the character of the laws of inheritance. The eldest son succeeds to the farm-house and has a specially large share of the land as well as his share of any personal estate of his father or mother; and the father may not dispose of real estate by will save according to the law. The mother may hold any personal property she brought as her dowry if she has obtained, at law, a *Séparation quant aux*

biens. Sometimes this 'separation' is made an immediate sequel to the wedding ceremony. It is noteworthy that, as in Scotland where a Roman-Norman legal tradition also survives, a woman keeps her maiden name for legal and some other purposes. She has to sign, with her maiden name, her consent to the sale of real property, whether her own or his, by her husband, because she has special rights in it. She inherits the enjoyment, during widowhood, of one-third of the house and of the proceeds of the farm. Out of this fact has grown the characteristic form of the Guernsey farm-house. The main house often has two windows on either side of the front door and five above. At the side is a smaller house with a door and window and usually two windows above. This is often called the widow's third, but it may be occupied by "the old couple", if they feel it is time to hand on the direction of the farm to the eldest son. There is usually internal inter-communication between the main house and the widow's third, and it will be appreciated that this whole scheme has encouraged the maintenance of the composite or patriarchal household in some instances. In olden times the younger sons might become fisher-crofters or labourers, or might take up some enterprise. The girls got their dowries from the father's and mother's personal property, and, of old, practically all married, so real property inheritance through the men, with provision for widows, gave a fair measure of justice. The scheme of inheritance prevented infinite subdivision of the land holdings. The custom of inheritance within "Les Barrières" of the town of St. Peter Port has long differed from that obtaining for farm land; the rights of the eldest son are rather less extensive in this case.

The old feudal tenures are maintained in altered form; the manors decayed or, in many cases passed from alien monastic houses to the King, and the dues tended to remain at the old levels, so, in effect, a copyhold system with dues in kind and of small monetary value is widespread. One may owe the King a couple of fowls or a number of eggs per annum. Sark presents us with a special case here. It had had a mediæval administration under a prévot, but had become uninhabited. Queen Elizabeth granted the island as a manor to Helier de Carteret,

of St. Ouen, Jersey, and the land came to be divided into forty farms with strict male primogeniture. In this case it was enacted that the owner could not sell a part of his farm or raise a mortgage on it, only as a whole could it change hands, and then only subject to giving public notice stating the price so that the kin within a certain degree could buy it back for the family at the same price within a year and a day. As in Jersey the lord of the manor receives the thirteenth pound when a sale outside the kin takes place ; in Guernsey a percentage, called *Congé*, is payable in this way.

From Elizabeth's reign onwards, at least, ownership of land and mortgages on land have been registered in Guernsey at the public record office or *Greffe*, and, in the case of bankruptcy, registered mortgages have complete preference over other debts, so far as real property is concerned. The traditional form of mortgage is the promise to pay yearly a stated number of quarters of wheat, *quartiers de froment de rente*, and the monetary equivalent is fixed year by year at the Chief Pleas. This old system has led to some complications since the prairie lands began to flood the world's wheat markets with their produce, and mortgages in modern times have been stabilised in terms of money. Whether this has any greater stability of actual value, in view of alterations in currency exchanges and prices, is of course open to doubt. Wheat crops have been almost rarities of late years.

An Alderney record of 1638 requires a farmer to get permission from the lord of the manor before he encloses land for parsnips. This is natural in an island in which the open field and its concomitant the agglomerated village survive ; it is also interesting as it shows how early the idea of root crops had become important here, and also as an indication that parsnips were the favoured root for feeding cattle ; they seem to have remained dominant at least until the late eighteenth century, when the potato became a rival. The parsnip, it might be stated, had been cultivated here and there in Europe to some extent since Roman times.

The parsnip is a long root and, to grow it successfully, deep ploughing is essential. The islands accordingly developed, after

the middle of the eighteenth century, large ploughs worked co-operatively by groups of neighbours, ploughing each man's land in turn. *La Grand' Querrue* (Charrue), often in March, before sowing parsnips, came accordingly to include a round of festive evenings after work, with housewives rivalling one another in hospitality, and with dancing and telling of tales of fairies and witches around the kitchen fire, and an accompaniment of sweethearting for the young folk. It is interesting that a number of good farm-houses are dated from 1730 onwards, the date and the initials of husband and wife (maiden name) often being incised on the lintel if it be a new one. Sometimes an old round doorway is incorporated in the new house and sometimes the old house was just furbished up. Rarely do we find indications that the widow's third is older than this, so it may be that this valuable feature of social security was added as prosperity increased with root cultivation. It is quite likely that, in earlier times, the old folk lived less separately from their descendants and successors; the joint household has been a feature of peasant life in many lands.

The restricted distribution of family names and the differences of dialect as well as the importance of the groups of neighbours all indicate a weakness of the social system in the islands. There has been too much intermarriage of kin, and with this has gone as usual some mental deficiency. Kin are acknowledged to several grades of cousinship, and it is inevitable that the same strains of inheritance should run through almost the whole of the population of a small rural hamlet in an isolated spot.

Of old, fishing was an important supplement to farming, but here pursued perhaps mainly by younger sons who, and whose women, might also work for farmers in harvest time. Save to some extent in Sark, we have not a great deal of the true fisher-farmer type. The fisher folk are mainly cottagers, often with gardens, near the beaches and havens, and in St. Peter Port at least there was the typical narrow street leading to the sea, with the tide lapping on to its paving stones and the boats sometimes tied to stakes on the steps up to the house doors. Only a little of this street now remains, modified almost

beyond recognition of its character by the building of a quay. The fishing communities, notably at Rocquaine bay, long maintained a marked degree of social separation, and it was not thought proper for a farmer's daughter to marry into the fishermen's group. These features are of course widespread among fisher folk in many parts of Europe ; their women must attend to the catch and often go round hawking it or take it to market, and girls not brought up to this imagine such work is beneath them. Several place-names suggest evaporation of sea-water—salt-pans, (Platte Saline), or the salting (Salerie, Pulias), or drying of fish (Éperquerie, Baie des Péqueries)—and go to show that dry and salt fish were items of diet ; indeed salt and smoked conger eel has remained such until quite recently. The fish market of St. Peter Port still exhibits varieties of fish rarely seen in England, and limpets, winkles, mussels, cockles and ormers that may have been collected along the shore unless they have been imported. Large lobsters (*Homarus vulgaris*), edible crabs of three common kinds (*Cancer pagurus*, or Chancre, *Maia squinado* or Spider crab and *Portunus puber* or Lady crab), and sea-crayfish (*Palinurus vulgaris*) are caught in special wicker 'crab-pots', or by hand among the rocks, and make a brave show for tourists' interest in summer. The ormer (*Haliotis*), a large mollusc, and the Garfish or Longnose (*Belone*) are notable features of the market. Decline of the fishing industry has been promoted by oil film on the sea around the coast, but most by the diversion of attention towards the modern horticultural activities, which offer many opportunities for hired labour of both sexes. Nevertheless, the profession of seaman-ship still claims a number of Guernseymen for both the merchant service and the Royal Navy, and privateering is still a distant memory. Jersey's relation with the sea is somewhat different. She lacked the roadstead that gave Guernsey its privateering advantage, and her fishermen from the sixteenth century onwards took, instead, to the Newfoundland and Gaspé fishing business, in association, at first, with St. Malo but, later on, independently, sending out at times fifty ships and 2500 men in one summer. This Jersey trade has now died down, but the memory of it persists in place-names and family names in

the New World. Guernsey participated in fishing adventures in Newfoundland waters but to a lesser extent. There are even unverified legends that Jerseymen were blown from Iceland to Newfoundland half a century before Cabot's voyage. With the extension of trade in the early nineteenth century, privateering having come to an end in 1815, Guernsey took to shipbuilding and mercantile adventure, especially to Central and South America, touching Portugal and the Azores on the way, and bringing back thence oranges from St. Michael and port wine to be matured in caves cut into the cliff fronting the old harbour of St. Peter Port. Wine had long been matured there in connection with the Bordeaux trade and privateering. The wine caves have become stores for ships' chandlery, coal and salt now that conditions for maturing wine can be so easily regulated artificially, and more exact customs administration has made it impossible to smuggle much wine from Guernsey into England.

The last sea-going commercial vessel to be built in Guernsey, a little schooner called the *Sarnia*, was launched about 1895 and sailed between Guernsey and La Coruña, fetching beef-cattle from the latter for slaughter on arrival in the island. Sixty and seventy years earlier the shipyards were busy along the east coast of the island, as were so many at small ports of the British shores, and along with shipbuilding went cabinet-making, primarily perhaps for cabin furnishing. This industry, chiefly in mahogany, often inlaid with sandalwood, reached a high level of workmanship on simple well-proportioned design at the hands of John Guille, whose work is still sought by collectors. This, again, is an industry which has vanished as has the older traditional one of making oak wardrobes with scroll and other ornament in Norman fashion. Whether the metal work of the grandfather clocks, in mahogany cases contemporary with the ship's-cabin furnishings, was attempted in the island we do not know; it is likely that this and a good deal of silver work were imported, probably from France as well as England. English pewter also came into the island. The period of prosperity of merchant shipping, following, after an interval of poverty, the Napoleonic wars, saw a good deal of urban and

suburban building, and the fashion of using brown Roman cement was a noteworthy, if unattractive, feature. The same period made the English language far more current as a medium of intercourse.

We thus have at the outset of modern developments a Guernsey with old aristocratic families, some enriched by privateering, some with high rank in the fighting services, mostly interested in the public life of the island, a middle class with many grades interested in commerce, old-established farming families, beginning to cherish their cattle and forbidding the importation alive of any other breed, fisherfolk and labourers, some still knitting what have come to be called jerseys and guernseys. The potato had spread in the islands, but the parsnip crop was still important and was used in part as winter food for cattle, though the mildness of the climate made this a little less important than it would be in northern England for example.

The soil of Guernsey, worked intensively for centuries, had become more fertile owing to manuring both with dung and with sea-weed. Sea-weed (*vraic*) washed up could be collected at any time, but the cutting of *vraic* was regulated by the Chief Pleas as early as 1204. It is interesting that one of the permitted cuttings, at midsummer, was reserved for those who went without a cart, i.e. with only bags and baskets ; in Alderney certain bays were reserved for *vraic* cutting by poor people ; there was thus provision for the cottager as well as for the larger farmer ; this was manure from which no middleman would rake a profit, it involved merely hard work and petty transport. Its influence on the quality of island soils has been very great.

In the mid-nineteenth century communications by land and sea were expanding fast. The steamship, soon to be built of iron, the railway, the macadamised road were all spreading their power. Guernsey had wooden ships in foreign trade and responded to the new stirring of life in a characteristic way ; the first steamship to reach the island was seen in 1823.

Her people had learned something of finance through a somewhat earlier experiment which succeeded because it was an island that made the venture. A market building was needed and

was built by local labour and of local material, paid for in bank-notes of Les États issued for the purpose and redeemed thereafter from the market dues. What was, in fact, a social credit venture worked with eminent success. Of course no one would expect a Guernsey bank-note to be accepted in England or even in Jersey, and the issue was a moderate one and the market building a clear success financially. The local banks issued notes from 1822 onwards, and there was a struggle between them and the public authority for a while. With the increase of imported food-stuffs and the high specialisation of horticultural products for export, the markets have changed considerably from the days when farmers' wives and daughters were brought to market to sell butter marked with a farm device, eggs, curds, vegetables and fine fruit from walled gardens, all in great open baskets, the eggs and butter often in white napkins, the choice plums and immense pears laid on large cabbage leaves. A little old-fashioned strawberry of fine flavour inclined to a brownish tinge was a feature, but the small fruit trade did not develop.

The success of the market scheme led Guernseymen to the greater adventure of enclosing a large part of their fine roadstead between breakwaters, and this, in turn, was financed by local bond issues at 3 per cent. repayable on due notice at par with accrued interest. Some resemblances to the modern scheme of British Defence Bonds will be noticed. In this way the island paid about £360,000 for the building of a harbour enclosing 72 acres of water, a great deal of it deep at all states of the tide, with an easy and yet well-protected entry facing east. The harbour dues were calculated to meet interest and amortisation, and the bonds were all paid off before the end of the century, leaving the island with a fine property bringing in a steady revenue. There had been no underwriting, no stock exchange commissions; and much of the thought and supervision that in England would have been the work of highly paid officials was done by public men acting in an honorary capacity. In a small community the men who act thus may come into general recognition, and they themselves also see more easily the link between the general advantage and their own personal gain.

A Guernsey business man could hardly fail to see that the new harbour would profit him as well as others.

In the early years of the nineteenth century a strait of sea and salt-marsh between the main part of the island and its northern extremity had been reclaimed and its eastern end was converted into the tidal harbour of St. Samson, which came to be used for export of stone, both chips for macadamising London's streets and dressed blocks for paving setts and building. Property owners were enriched by royalties on the stone. At the peak nearly half a million tons of stone were sent away in a year, about the beginning of this century. But new methods of road-making, and the spread of the steel-girder building have reduced this trade, not however before it had brought to the northern, quarrying, end of the island a large influx of English and Irish workmen which anglicised this part of Guernsey to a large extent. Many quarries are now derelict and full of water, some of which is unfortunately slightly salt from sea-water seeping in through rock cracks. Disused quarries which have not become brackish have been used as reserves of water very much needed for the horticultural developments which began within a generation after the harbour was built.

When regular and fairly fast steam communication was established, the islands were able in virtue of their climate to supply the luxury markets of Britain with early produce. Jersey's summer was warm enough to make early potatoes a paying proposition, and they were grown in the fields without specially large capital outlay. This new form of production enhanced the capital value of the land and made it possible, sometimes, for owners to let their land to erstwhile labourers, often originally summer migrants from Brittany or Normandy, and to live quietly on the rental. Not a few farms have been bought by these thrifty immigrants whose children have typically become British. In due course it was found possible to bed out tomatoes after the potato crop had been cleared; the tomatoes ripen in late August and September. Forty times between 1884 and 1938 the Jersey potato crop was of more than half a million tons and only in 1919 did it fall below 400,000. Its value has oscillated between a minimum not far from £250,000 on three

occasions and a maximum of nearly £1,200,000 in 1920. In 1938 it reached over £800,000. The tomato crop from Jersey has in recent years varied between 20,000 and 30,000 tons. The two together, supplemented by some 50,000 tons of stone, usually well over 1000 pedigree cattle, and a variety of other things give the island an intake often reaching £1,500,000 per annum on its produce. To this has to be added the large profit from the tourist industry and the related tobacco business, pensions of retired British officers and officials living in the island and income from outside investments. All this has given Jersey great prosperity, with the one reserve that the value of the potato crop oscillates too widely for social security. Cultivable land has often changed hands at a price equivalent to £250 or more per acre.

Guernsey's development of modern horticulture has been very different. Glasshouses, which are an important minor feature in Jersey, are the characteristic of Guernsey. They began at the end of the eighteenth century but spread after 1870. They are Guernsey's compensation for its northward slope and cooler summer. But they imply the need of capital, and it has been less easy for Breton and other labourers to become tenants and eventually owners. Also, there has been more scope for the enterprise of the farm-owners if, as happens very often, they have a little capital or, before 1914, could raise money on mortgage from the then independent local banks for building glasshouses. The isolation of Guernsey had kept its banks independent; they were directed by men who very often knew personally those who wished for loans, and the policy of the banks seems to have been wise and profitable both to themselves and to the island. Profits of growers during the period 1914-1918 are said to have led to repayment of mortgages on a large scale, especially with the devaluation of money in 1919-1920. After 1918 the local currency and the local banks were assimilated to those of Britain, and it remained to be seen how this would affect the policy of loans for glasshouses and crop planting. It is said that two-thirds of the cultivated land is owned by the men who raise the crops, but there are many mortgages.

Guernsey grows some early potatoes, but this is only a minor item ; it also sends early broccoli. When these early crops are cleared from a field, a root crop may be tried, and crops of flowers may be either an alternative or a follow-on, as the mildness of autumn allows flowering of chrysanthemums to last into November. Early spring flowers, especially daffodils, are another speciality. A good deal of the land not covered by these crops and not under glass is left for a time as grassland to pasture the pedigree cattle and to supply new soil for the glasshouses.

The glasshouses were at first used for grapes, and tomatoes were soon planted in while the grape-vines were growing, but, about 1884, they became a main crop among progressive owners, and glasshouses had multiplied enormously by the end of the century. The ships which took cargoes of stone to Britain brought back anthracite for heating the glasshouses. The tomato crop gave an export total of over 30,000 tons in 1937, but, as the peak of the trade came in June and July, the value was much higher than that of the Jersey outdoor tomato crop ; 4000 tons of flowers, 400 tons of bulbs, about 700 tons of choice hothouse grapes and small quantities of other fruits and a variable quantity of vegetables that may reach about 800 tons, in addition to 1500 tons of potatoes, give an idea of varied but intensive horticulture with glasshouse production dominant. On the whole the fluctuations of total value have been less violent than those of Jersey's trade, but so much is luxury goods that this is a danger. The tomato has, however, now become an article of general and regular consumption, and Guernsey is in a good position to supply the early summer market. Before refrigeration came in there were experiments in growing figs, peaches, melons and so on under glass, but these are now quite unimportant.

As every effort has to be made to get an early crop of good quality and quantity, there is scope for ingenuity and application of science. The soil to be put into the glasshouses is sterilised, little details of tying up the grape or tomato plants, spraying to keep down pests, manuring experiments, plant breeding and every imaginable device, good or bad, get tried

out. Many of the growers become almost as keen on their experiments as on the profits they hope to make. Several years ago an enterprising grower placed forms over the hot water pipes in his glasshouses, and in pots on these forms he put vine cuttings which were allowed to grow a little and then formed one or two bunches of grapes that were ripe in April. A few hundredweight of these Easter grapes grown in space hitherto not used, and sold at fancy prices in London, added a good round figure to the grower's profit. Another, outdoor, garden was equipped with a tell-tale thermometer, and, when the indicator fell to a certain dangerous level, an electric circuit was completed, and a bell rang in the house to warn the owner to come and cover his precious vegetables with straw lest they might catch cold. The growing of tomatoes in tanks of sterilised water, with a scientifically worked-out supply of nutritive material is another device. All this scope for thought and ingenuity is a most important social feature in the islands ; there are local opportunities for men of brains and initiative if they will work hard, and their work prompts them to keep in touch with the world outside. Guernsey suffers less from the export of its abler youth than do many other agricultural communities. Opportunities for display and extravagance are less than in large cities, so standards remain fairly simple, and those who have made what in an industrial centre would be considered a moderate fortune are there thought rich, and they often retire from full commercial activity and devote themselves to public life. The result is that much which would be done by highly paid officials in Britain is there carried through by unpaid workers who may rise to and hold for many years posts of great honour in the island. This feature is a most important element of strength in social life, and implies a close-knit society, though its gradations are as quaintly complex as in most old-established communities. Indeed, they have been the object of much well-aimed satire ; the top stratum were long called "the sixties" and the middle class the "forties," but no Nonconformists were counted among the sixties in Victorian days.

The island environment and the export trade have helped to knit the people together in other ways. Years ago two British

railway and steamboat companies which had been rivals for the carriage of the tomatoes suddenly agreed to a pooling system which it was claimed would give Guernsey growers certain advantages, and the companies asked for an extra penny per package. The leading growers revolted against what they considered to be a tax of over £10,000 per annum placed on the island. They forthwith made arrangements with a third railway company and hired boats of their own. Long after peace with the original companies was restored after a practical victory of the growers, the little company that had been established to run the boats was still in existence as a safeguard, though it no longer needed to function. Had there been multiple outlets, such an effort could not have been made with much hope of success ; and the same might be said of the schemes for grading of the exported tomatoes and many other details.

The total export trade of Guernsey, including, besides early produce, some hundreds of cattle and about 100,000 tons of stone per annum, often does not fall far behind that of Jersey in value, except when the latter has a peak year. Like Jersey it has British officials retired on pension, and old families with capital invested outside, so its total income is large for its population and their standard of living. There is some poverty, especially among immigrant labourers working as coal-heavers and stone-breakers, but the general level is a good one and, so long as a steady greenhouse worker can hope to get a little loan at reasonable rates to build a small glasshouse of his own, the gap between master and man is not too great. The master depends on his men's ingenuity and watchfulness as well as on his own, and there is usually high pressure of work at the peak season in June and July and all must be ready to work long hours for a few weeks, so there is need for many adjustments.

All in all we have in Guernsey an instance of a community that has specialised to an almost unique extent in cultivation, that has revolutionised its work in the last sixty years, that has interwoven local and imperial patriotism to a remarkable extent, that has managed to survive many faults of nepotism among privileged families and of the evil speaking and jealousy which beset small communities, that has given opportunities to talent

and enterprise both in business and in public service and has built up a closely knit society where many people know most others in their district and can weigh them up, that has long cherished the continuity of the family and the security of land tenure, that has modernised its government without cutting adrift from its past and without making administration as costly as it has become in industrial centres.

It is right that British people should know as much as possible of the Channel Islands and of their value as social and agricultural experiments as well as of their great contributions over many generations to the fighting services. They are now suffering ; they must be set free again, and helped to renew their broken life.

The writer is much indebted to articles in the *Transactions of the Société Guernesiaise*, especially by the late T. W. M. de Guérin, the late Miss Edith Carey, and Dr. Le Patourel, to his friend Mr. J. P. Warren of the States' Intermediate School, Guernsey, now (1941) receiving hospitality at the Hulme Grammar School, Oldham, and to his daughter, Elizabeth Fleure, for help in many details of local knowledge.

THE CAPTIVITY OF A ROYAL WITCH:
THE HOUSEHOLD ACCOUNTS OF QUEEN JOAN OF
NAVARRE, 1419-21.

Appendices to the article with the above title, printed in the BULLETIN, Vol. 24, No. 2 (October, 1940), pp. 263-284.

By A. R. MYERS, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.,

LECTURER IN MEDIEVAL HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL.

- A. *The Household Account of Queen Joan of Navarre, October-December, 1419.*
B. *Inventory of Valuables belonging to Queen Joan in the custody of Friar John Randolph, August, 1419.*

A.

Exchequer Accounts, 406/30. Account-book, kept by Thomas Lillebourne, clerk, of the household of Queen Joan of Navarre from Sunday, October 1st, to Friday, December 15th, 1419.

Parchment, ff. 12.

350 × 250 mm.

c. 1422.

On the front of the parchment cover are the words, in extremely faded writing :

Liber xiii^o die Decembris.
and below— Primus liber.

The verso of the parchment cover has the words—

Particulare compoti Thome Lillebourne, clerici expensarum hospicii Domine Johanne Regine Anglie, videlicet, tam de denariis per ipsum receptis, quam de custubus et expensis eiusdem hospicii, a primo die Octobris anno vij^{mo} Regis Henrici V^{ti}, nuper Regis Anglie, vsque xv^m diem Decembris tunc proximum sequentem, scilicet, per lxxvj dies—vtrouque die computato per breve Regis de priuato sigillo suo datum xiiij^{mo} die Julij anno ix^o Regis Henrici quinti, Thesaurario, Baronibus et Camerariis Scaccarij Regis directum, irrotulatum in memorandis de anno ix^o inter breuia directa Baronibus de termino Michelis eodem anno Regni xlvij^{mo} ex parte Rememoratoris Regis, videlicet, de hujusmodi receptis, misis, custubus et expensis vt infra.¹

¹ See K.R. Memoranda Roll, 9 Henry V, Mich., *Brevia directa Baronibus*, m. 47d.

Recepta Scaccarij.

f. 1a

In denariis receptis de Scaccario Domini Regis per Thomam Lilbourne, clericum expensarum hospicii Domine Johanne Regine Anglie, inter secundum diem Octobris anno regni Henrici quinti septimo et xij^o diem Julij anno eiusdem octauo, videlicet, super expensas hospicii predicti. In primis, in pecunia numerata per manus Thome Lilbourne super expensas eiusdem hospicii, secundo die Octobris, xxvjli xiijs iiijd.

Item, in pecunia numerata per manus Thome Lilbourne super concessas expensas, xxvij^o die Nouembris, cxxxiiijli vjs viijd.

Michelis
anno septimo

In pecunia numerata per manus Thome Aleyn super expensas hospicii predicti, quinto die Decembris, xvijli vjs viijd.

In pecunia numerata per manus Thome Lilbourne super expensas eiusdem hospicii xix^o die Januarij, c marce. In denariis sibi liberatis per manus eiusdem Thome, videlicet, per assignacionem factam eodem die, l li. Et per manus eiusdem alia vice eodem die, xxiiijli xvjs viijd. In pecunia numerata per manus eiusdem super expensas hospicii predicti, eodem die, lxxvjli viijs iiijd.

Paschalis
anno octauo

In pecunia numerata per manus propriam super expensis eiusdem hospicii primo die Julij, lxxvjli xiijs iiijd. In pecunia numerata per manus eiusdem super concessas expensas hospicii predicti, xij^o die Julij, cxxxiiijli vjs viijd.

Probatur. Summa totalis Recepte Scaccarij } ^{xx} Dinij. iiijli xs.
huius libri

^{xx}
v^{cccc}iiij. iiijli xs. f. 1b

Recepta Forinseca.

De aliquibus denariis, per ipsum receptis in precio aliquorum victualium super expensas eiusdem hospicii ipsius Regine, videlicet, per tempus predictum non receptis et quod omnia victualia remanencia in fine compoti Johannis Bakewell, nuper thesaurarij hospicii eiusdem Regine immediate ante prefatum Thomam Lillebourne, remanserunt in manibus predicti Johannis Bakewell ad satisfaciendos creditores hospicii Regine predictae de denariis eis aretro existentibus ante tempus restrictionis terrarum et tenementorum ipsius Regine in manus Regis. Ita quod nulla huiusmodi victualia ad manus ipsius Thome Lillebourne deueniunt nec deuenire potuerunt quoquo modo ex causa predicta, vt dicit per sacramentum suum ————— nulla.

Summa Recepte Forinsece ————— nulla.

f. 2a

Die Dominica primo die Octobris anno vij^o apud Hauerynge et Rederhithe.
Dispensaria xiijs viijd ob, Butilleria ciijs viijd, Garderoba viijs xjd ob,
Coquina iiijli xviijs iiijd, Pulletria xxxiijs ijd, Scutilleria vjs viijd ob,

Salsaria iijs xjd ob, Aula et camera viijs viijd ob, Stabulum xxiijs viijd, Vadia xiijs xjd.¹

Summa xvli xviijs ixd ob.

Die Lune secundo die Octobris ibidem. Dispensaria viijs ijd ob, Butilleria xxxs iiijd, Garderoba vjs iiijd ob, Coquina xxiijs iijd ob, Pulletria viijs vijd ob, Scutilleria ijs viijd ob, Salsaria xvjd, Aula et camera xiijs viijd ob, Stabulum xijs viijd ob, Vadia xijs ijd. Summa cxixs vijd ob.

Die Martis tercio die Octobris ibidem. Dispensaria vijs viijd ob, Butilleria xxvjs iijd, Garderoba vijs ijd ob, Coquina xxiijs vjd ob, Pulletria xjs iiijd, Scutilleria ijs viijd, Salsaria xijd ob, Aula et camera ix s iiijd, Stabulum xiijs iijd ob, Vadia xijs ijd. Summa cxvjs vijd ob.

Die Mercurij quarto die Octobris ibidem. Dispensaria vijs jd ob, Butilleria xxjs iiijd, Garderoba iijs xjd ob, Coquina lixs iijd, Pulletria iijs viijd ob, Scutilleria xijd ob, Salsaria xjd ob, Aula et camera xjs viijd, Stabulum xiijs vijd, Vadia ix s iiijd ob. Summa vjli xvs jd.

Die Jouis quinto die Octobris ibidem. Dispensaria vijs iiijd ob, Butilleria xxiijs viijd, Garderoba ix s jd ob, Coquina xxxiijs jd ob, Pulletria viijs xjd ob, Scutilleria ijs ijd, Salsaria ixd ob, Aula et camera vs ixd ob, Stabulum xiijs vijd, Vadia ix s iiijd ob. Summa cxv s xjd ob.

Die Veneris sexto die Octobris ibidem. Dispensaria vjs vijd ob, Butilleria xviijs xjd ob, Garderoba iijs xjd ob, Coquina liijs xjd ob, Pulletria iijs ixd ob, Scutilleria xvjd, Salsaria xijd, Aula et camera vijs ixd ob, Stabulum xiijs ijd ob, Vadia xjs viijd. Summa vjli iijs iijd ob.

Die Sabbati septimo die Octobris ibidem. Dispensaria vjs viijd ob, Butilleria xxjs viijd, Garderoba vijs xd ob, Coquina liiijs viijd ob, Pulletria xxijd ob, Scutilleria xvjd ob, Salsaria viijd, Aula et camera vs viijd, Stabulum xijs ijd ob, Vadia viijs vijd ob. Summa vjli ijs iiijd ob.

Probatur. Summa istius septimane———liijli xjs ixd. ~~liijli xjs ixd.~~

ff. 2b to 6b inclusive are identical with f. 2a in form. To each week of commissariat expenditure is allocated one side of a folio. The expenses of the above ten domestic offices are recorded day by day, with the day's total in the right-hand margin, and the week's total at the bottom of the folio. Under the week's total is noted, every four weeks, the total expenditure of the preceding lunar month; both weekly and monthly totals are usually prefaced by the auditor's note, 'probatur'. The following is a list of these weekly and monthly totals:—

						£	s.	d.
Week beginning	October	8th	.	.	.	37	2	8
"	"	"	15th	.	.	35	0	6½
"	"	"	22nd	.	.	35	7	6
Total for the first month			.	.	.	160	2	5½

¹ These offices are those of the steward, the buttery, the wardrobe, the kitchen, the poultry, the scullery, the saucery, the hall, the stable, and the wages respectively. Cf. THE BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, Vol. 24, No 2 (October, 1940), p. 277, n. 2.

						£	s.	d.
Week beginning October 29th	.	.	.	.	.	36	17	4
„ „ November 5th	.	.	.	.	.	29	9	11½
„ „ „ 12th	.	.	.	.	.	39	1	6
„ „ „ 19th	.	.	.	.	.	37	17	7
Total for the second month	.	.	.	.	.	143	6	4½
Week beginning November 26th	.	.	.	.	.	38	7	10½
„ „ December 3rd	.	.	.	.	.	36	7	4

There are no notes in the left-hand margin, as there are in the Rylands' Latin MS. 238.

Each day the residence of the Queen is stated, and from this it appears that she remained at Rotherhithe until Tuesday, December 5th. On that day she was taken to Dartford, and the day following she was moved to Rochester. She stayed at Rochester for only one night before going to Leeds on Thursday, December 7th, to remain there until Sunday, December 10th.

Die Dominica decimo die Decembris apud Ledys et Rouchestre. Dispensaria iiij s iij d ob, Butillieria xviij s x d, Garderoba i s iij d ob, Coquina xxi s x d ob, Pulletria iij s iij d, Scutillieria xij d, Salsaria ix d ob, Aula et camera viij s x d, Stabulum xiiij s iij d, Vadia x s iij d. Summa iij li viij s iij d.

Die Lune xj die Decembris ibidem et Dertforde. Dispensaria iiijs viij ob,
Butilleria xvijs xjd ob, Garderoba ijs viij ob, Coquina xxs iiij ob, Pul-
letria ijs iij ob, Scutilleria viij ob, Salsaria vjd ob, Aula et camera xs. iiij ob,
Stabulum xiijs xd ob, Vadia xijs xjd. Summa iiijli ixs iiij ob.

Die Martis xij die Decembris ibidem et Rederhithe. Dispensaria iijxs xjd ob,
Butilleria xvijs iijd ob, Garderoba ijs xd ob, Coquina xvijs iiijd ob, Pul-
letria ijs xjd ob, Scutilleria viijd, Salsaria vd, Aula et camera xs viijd ob,
Stabulum xvjs iiijd ob, Vadia xvs vjd. Summa iiijli ix d jd ob.

Die Mercurij xiiij die Decembris ibidem. Dispensaria iijxs xjd ob, Butilleria xvjs xjd ob, Garderoba iijxs xd, Coquina xxxviijs xjd, Pulletria ijs iijd, Scutilleria vjd ob, Salsaria viijjd, Aula et camera vijs viijjd, Stabulum xiijs iijd ob, Vadia xiijs. Summa cis ijd.

Die Jouis xiiij die Decembris ibidem. Dispensaria vs ixd, Butilleria xvijs
viij ob, Garderoba ijs viij ob, Coquina xxxvijs xjd ob, Pulletria iij ob
ob, Scutilleria xjd, Salsaria ixd, Aula et camera vjs iiij ob, Stabulum xiijs
iij ob, Vadia xiijs xd. Summa ciijs vd.

Die Veneris xv^o die Decembris nichil que totum de praeempcione et di-
erum precedentium per examinationem sacramenti computantis super
computum————Summa nulla.

Probatur. Summa istius septimane————xxiiijli xjs iijd.

Probatur. Summa istarum trium septimanarum—————^{xx}iiij xviiijs vjs vd ob.

Probatur. Summa totalis duarum mensium } xvs iijd ob
et trium septimanarum } cccc jli ~~xviii iij ob.~~

~~xxiii~~-xv-iii.

Nothing on this side.

f. 8a

*Necessaria.*pro expensis
extra curiam

Willelmo Crofton, vallato Camere¹ domine Johanne Regine Anglie, pro vadis suis extra curiam preequitando de Rederhithe vsque Ledys super diuersa negocia hospicium Regine tangentia mense Octobris, de regardo ei facto,—*ijs*. Et pro bermanagio, cariagio, shoutagio, batillagio, frectagio, cranagio, couperagio, vadiis Pincerne, cum aliis custagiis factis² circa vinum expeditum in eodem hospicio infra tempus huius compoti,—*liiij s ijd ob*. Thome Lilbourne, clerico expensarum domine Johanne Regine, proseguendo penes Concilium domini Regis apud Westmonasterium et alibi pro moneta et aliis negociis hospicium dicte Regine tangentibus expediendis, pro vadiis suis extra curiam per xxvij dies ad ijs per diem infra tempus supradictum,—*liiij s*. Diuersis clericis scribentibus hunc compotum ac alia necessaria eundem compotum tangentia, de regardis eisdem factis,—*xxxiiij s iiijd*. Prout dictus computans dicit super sacramentum suum.

Probatur. Summa istius Pageine————vijli iij s vjd ob. vijli iij s vjd.

f. 8b

Dona.

Johanni Bostone de Dertforde, hospicii domine Johanne Regine Anglie, ac familie suae ibidem pro deterioracione domorum suorum ac vesselamentorum, per ij vices de regardiis ei factis de dono ipsius Regine mense Decembris,—*vs xd*. Diuersis de Rouchestre vigilantibus habentes³ dicte domine Regine noctanter ibidem, de regardis eis factis de dono Regine mense Decembris,—*xijd*. Roberto at Boure de Rouchestre, hospicii dicte Regine, ac familie suae pro deterioracione domorum ac vesselamentorum suorum, de dono domine Regine de regardis ei factis mense Decembris per ij vices,—*vs*. Johanni Forde, hospicii falconario Regine apud Ledys, pro deterioracione domorum ac vesselamentorum suorum, de regardis ei factis xj die Decembris,—*iiij s iiijd*. Johanni Bocher de Rouchestre, conductori nomine vnus gyde de Rouchestre vsque Ledys, pro bona via cognoscenda, de regardis ei factis eodem die,—*xxd*. Willelmo Eglestone, Johanni Graner, ac aliis diuersis officiariis expectantibus apud Rouchestre super salve custodiendos diuersos habentes domine Regine ibidem post recessum Regine versus Castrum de Ledys, de regardis eis factis pro expensis suis xj die Decembris,—*iiij s iiijd*. Henrico Tyndale, Willelmo Eglestone, Ricardo Jacsone, Johanni Laurence, Willelmo Herynge, Thome Qwyne, Johanni Rigge, Henrico Rigby, Johanni Stayntone, Johanni Hanny, Henrico Charioure, Willelmo Neysynge, Johanni Tailler, Willelmo Brooke, Johanni Smythe, Johanni Estone, Johanni Pikebone, Johanni Chirche, Juliano Lauender, garcionibus camere,⁴ ac diuersis officiariis hospicii

¹ Yeoman of the chamber.

² See the footnotes to the transcript of f. 26b of the Rylands Latin MS. 238, on p. 282 of THE BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, Vol. 24, No. 2 (October, 1940).

³ goods, possessions.

⁴ grooms of the chamber.

domine Regine, cuilibet eorum, pro regardis suis xiiij die Decembris ^{iiijs iij d iuxta} ~~vs in tote~~
ratam de ~~xxs~~ per annum, ~~iiijli ix d~~

~~iiijli xxs.~~ Willelmo Waleys, Thome Thorpe, Ricardo Faconer,
Willelmo Matthewe, Johanni Euesham, Thome Hantone, Thome Lambe, pagettis ¹
camere, ac officiariis, cuilibet ijs vjd in toto super riguarda sua apud Rederhithe
^{iuxta ratam de xs per annum, xjs}

xiiij die Decembris, ~~xvijs vjd.~~ Johanni Janyn, vallato Comi-
tisse Kancie presenti domine Regine cum vno panyer fructuum de veniresia ²
vocata Petyes apud Rederhithe ex parte dicte Regine xxviiij die Nouembris, de
regardis ei factis de dono ipsius Regine infra idem tempus,—*vjs. viij d.*

Probatur. Summa istius Pagine—^{cxvijs vjd} ~~vijli xixs iij d.~~ ^{vijli xixs iij d.}

Garderoba.

f. 9a

Garderoba Regine. Compotus Thome Lilbourne, clerici expensarum domine
Johanne Regine Anglie, de certis necessariis per ipsum emptis et prouisis, tam
pro corpore Regine, quam pro damisellis camere sue, apud Rederhithe et Ledys,
inter primum diem Octobris anno regni Henrici quinti septimo et septimum diem
Marcij anno eiusdem octauo, videlicet :—

panni nigri	{	Johanni Skeltone, pannario ³ Londonie, pro ix virgis ⁴ panni nigri, precio virge iijs— xxvijs , ab ipso emptis ad opus domine Regine pro ij peticotes pro corpore eiusdem Regine inde faciendis. Et eidem pro viij virgis panni nigri pro vna toga ⁵ pro Regina, precio virge iijs xd ob,— xxjs . Et eis pro vj vir- gis panni nigri pro linura eiusdem toge, precio virge iiijs iij d,— xxs . Et eidem pro ij virgis panni albi pro sokkes, precio virge xixd,— iijs ijd , inde facien- dis pro corpore Regine—in toto	} iiijli xs ijd.
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nigri panni	{	Et Johanni Knotte, Tailleur Londoniensis, pro vj virgis panni nigri pro duabus paruis peticotes inde faciendis pro Regina, precio virge, iiijjs viij d— xxvijs . Et eidem pro v virgis panni nigri, precio virge iiijjs iij d,— xxjs viij d , pro vna toga pro nocte inde facienda furrata cum pelle agnello infra Gar- derobam Regis. Et eidem pro ij virgis panni nigri, precio virge iijs viij d,— vjs viij d , pro caligis ⁶ inde faciendis pro corpore Regine infra tempus predic- tum.	} lvijs.
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¹ pages of the chamber.³ draper, cloth-merchant.⁵ gown.² ? hunting-lodge.⁴ yards.⁶ stockings.

	Et Margaret Crumpyngton, pro v virgis panni colorati, precio virge vs,—xxvs, pro vna toga pro dicta Margareta facienda de dono prefate Regine. Et Isabelle Thorley pro v virgis panni colorati, precio virge vs—xxvs pro vna toga pro dicta Isabelle facienda de dono eiusdem Regine	
panni colorati	Et Agnes Thorley, pro iiij virgis panni colorati, precio virge iiij s iiijd,—xvijs iiijd, pro vna toga pro dicta Agnes facienda de dono predictae Regine. Et Katherine Whatton, pro iiij virgis panni colorati, precio virge iiij s iiijd,—xvijs iiijd, pro vna toga pro dicta Katherine inde facienda de dono eiusdem Regine infra tempus supradictum.	iiijli iiij s viijd.
nigri panni	Et Johanni Caunterbury pro ij virgis panni nigri, precio virge iij s viijd,—vijs iiijd, pro caligis Regine inde faciendis.	vijs iiijd.
Menner ¹	Et Radulpho Barton pro xix tymbriis ² de mennero ab ipso emptis ad opus domine Regine,—iiijli xvij s vjd.	iiijli xvij s vjd.
Probatur. Summa pagine—xvli xvijs viijd.		xvli xvijs viijd.

f. 9b

Adhuc Garderoba.

Tymbri de Grey	Et Philippo Skynnerd, pro vj tymbriis de Grey ³ puratis, precio Tymbrie vjs viijd,—xls, ab ipso emptis ad opus Regine infra tempus huius compoti et expenditis infra Garderobam.	xls.
Syndones tartarini ⁵	Et Johanni Fauconer, pro serico et syndone ⁴ per ipsum emptis,—vs xd, ad opus Regine pro factura dicte toge et peticotes pro corpore Regine infra dictum tempus. Et pro ij virgis panni linei per ipsum emptis pro linura dictorum iiij ^{or} peticotes,—ijs, infra tempus supradictum et expenditum in necessariis Regine ibidem.	vijs xd.

¹ Minever. Highly esteemed in the Middle Ages, and ranking next in value to ermine and sable.

² bundles of fur.

³ The fur of the marten. The word is, however, used by Chaucer and others to express generally any valuable fur. (T. W. Beck, *The Draper's Dictionary*, London, 1882, p. 137.)

⁴ A fine thin linen or cambric of fabric.

⁵ A rich stuff, apparently of silk, imported from the East.

Telae lini Flandris ²	Et Thome Denton, Mercer Londoniae, pro vj vlnis ¹ tele lini Flandris, precio vlne xxd,—xs. Et pro iiij vlnis tele lini consuti, precio vlne xiij,— <i>iijs</i> . Et eidem pro ij vlnis tele lini ab ipso emptis, precio virge ix d,— <i>xviij</i> d et expensis in stewyng smokkes pro Regina.	xvs vjd.
Sericum diversum et filum	Et Emmot Norton, silkwoman Londoniae, pro ij libris j vncia serici diuersorum colorum, precio libre xxiijs et vncia <i>xviij</i> d,— <i>xlxs vjd</i> , ab ea emptis ad opus prefate domine Regine. Et eidem Emmot pro xiiij vncis serici nigri fyn et blodii, ³ precio vncie <i>xviij</i> d,— <i>xixs xd</i> . Et eidem Emmot pro j vncia serici nigri fyn ijs xd, ab ea empti ad opus Regine. Et eidem pro vj vncis serici nigri et blodii,— <i>viijs. iiij</i> d. Et eidem pro iiij quartis laces de serico <i>xvj</i> d, ab ea emptis ad opus prefate Regine. Et eidem pro j libra fili nigri, <i>ijs</i> . Et eidem pro iiij libris fili, <i>vjs viiij</i> d, ab ipsa emptis ad opus dicte Regine et expensis infra idem tempus per sacramentum computantis.	iiijli xs vd.
Corda filacia	Et eidem Emmote pro xx libris corde filacie, precio libre viiij, ab ea emptis ad opus prefate domine Regine, infra tempus huius compoti.	xiijs iiijd.
Ryngs de Latone	Et eidem Emmote pro c Ryngs de Latone, ab ea emptis ad opus domine Regine, et expensis circa pendicione de curteynes per sacramentum suum.	vjd.
Spynculæ de Latone	Et Johanni Hulle, Pynner Londoniae, pro iiij M viij C spinctulis ⁴ de Latone, precio mille ijs vjd,— <i>xijs</i> . Et eidem pro iiij C spynculis de Latone, precio <i>xiiij</i> d, ab ipso emptis ad opus eiusdem domine Regine infra tempus supradictum et expensis per sacramentum computantis.	xiijs ijd.
Vadia	Et Johanni Fauconer, Cissori ⁵ domine Regine, pro vadiis suis et diuersorum Cissorum operacione per diuersos vices super facturam, tailleaturam, consituram, et linuram garmentorum, ij togarum et iiij peticotes, pro corpore ipsius Regine infra tempus huius compoti, videlicet, pro vtraque toga <i>vjs ijd</i> , et pro quolibet peticote xs, ex conventionem secum facta per Reginam per sacramentum computantis.	liis iiijd.
Probatur. Summa pagine——xjli xiijs jd.		xjli-xiijs-jd.

¹ ells.² Flanders produced the best linen in Europe at this time (Beck, *op. cit.*,

n 197)

³ blue.⁴ pins.⁵ tailor, cutter.

f. 10a

Adhuc Garderoba.

Vadia

Et Johanni Lowes, taillour, pro factura j noue toge furrate cum pellis agnellis infra Garderobam Regis ad opus domine Regine infra tempus supradictum. } ijs.

Et Radulpho Bartone, pro furrura j toge pro corpore Regine mennero, iijs iiijd. Et Philippo Skynner pro furrura et emendacione j toge pro Regina, iijs iiijd. Et Johanni Skynner de Maydestone pro emendacione j toge domine Regine, ijs. xjd. Et Johanni Ramessey, pro factura et sutura caligarum Regine xijd. in toto pro corpore dicte domine Regine infra tempus huius compoti. } xs vijd.

Et Matilde Dentone, Silkwoman Londoniae, pro j cors ¹ de serico deaurato ² pro corpore domine Regine,—xxd. Et Johanni Lamesley, aurifabro Londonie, pro iij poyntes ³ argenti deaurati ab ipso empto pro dictis iij laces superiis emptis xijd infra tempus supradictum. } ijs viijd.

Et Emot Nortone, Silkwoman Londonie, pro j cors de serico fyn ponderante xj vnciis, precio vncie ijs viijd,—xxixs iiijd, ab ipsa empti pro j zona pro corpore Regine inde facienda. Et eidem, pro vna alia cors de serico fyn, ab ipsa empti pro corpore Regine ponderante viij vnciis, precio vncie vs,—xls. Et eidem pro j cors de serico fyn ponderante v vnciis iij quarteriis, precio vncie vjs xd,—xxxixs iijd ob, ab ea empti pro corpore domine Regine. Et eidem, pro j cors de serico ponderante iij vnciis precio iiij s iiijd,—xiijs, ab ea empti, pro corpore Regine infra tempus huius compoti et eidem Regine liberata, per sacramentum suum. } vjli xixd. ob.

Camera
Regine

Et Johanni Blakedone, aurifabro Londonie, pro auro ab ipso empto vltra veterum aurum Regine pro quadam zona pro corpore Regine inde facienda xxjs jd. Et eidem Johanni pro factura eiusdem zone, iijs iiijd. Et eidem pro j bokell et pendaunt argenti deaurati ab ipso emptis pro j zona pro corpore Regine, vjs. Et eidem pro factura et emendacione j candelabri argenti ad opus eiusdem Regine xs jd infra tempus supradictum, vt dicit super sacramentum suum. } xls vjd.

¹ laces or bands of silk, used as girdles, garters, etc.² gilded.³ laces or ties for use as suspenders.

Camera
Regine—cont.

Et Thome Colayne, aurifabro Londonie, pro
vna cathena auri cum agnus dei, ab ipso empta ad
opus Regine, *xxvijs ixd.* Et eidem Thome pro j
par paternosters ¹ de auro ab ipso empta ad opus
Regine, *xxxiijs xjd* infra idem tempus et eidem
Regine liberata, vt dicit super sacramentum suum. } *lxiijs viijd.*

Probatur. Summa pagine——*xijli xijd ob.* ~~*xijli xijd ob.*~~

Probatur. Summa totalis Garderobe——*xlli xjs ixd ob.*

Camera Regine.

f. 10b

Et Jacobi Henniwede, pro vna cathena auri ab ipso empta ad
opus Regine infra tempus huius compoti. } *xxjs ijd.*

Et Johanni Marr, pro j cors de serico nigro ab ipso empta pro
ij garters inde facienda pro corpore eiusdem domine Regine infra
dictum tempus, vt dicit super sacramentum suum. } *xvjd.*

Et Hans, aurifabro Londonie, pro factura predictorum Garters
cum auro Regine pro corpore eiusdem Regine infra idem tempus. } *xvjd.*

Et Katherine Whattone, pro j pare templers ² ab ea empta ad opus
Regine infra tempus predictum. } *vjs viijd.*

Et Johanni Glouer pro ij pares seretegorum ³ ab eo emptis ad opus
Regine. } *iiijd.*

Et Johanni Exham, Cordewayner Londonie, pro xv duodenis v
paribus sotularum ⁴ ab eo emptis pro corpore eiusdem domine Regine,
precio duodene *vijs,—cvijs xjd.* Et eidem pro j pare boteux ⁵ ab eo
empta ad opus domine Regine, *xiijd* infra tempus huius compoti vt
dicit super sacramentum suum. } *cixs jd.*

Et cuidam Johanni Galeman, pro aumbre de Ryce ab ipso empto
ad opus Regine pro medicinis inde faciendis infra tempus supra dictum,
vt dictus computans dicit super sacramentum suum. } *xs.*

Et Thome Penne, potekario, pro j pix de peautre ab eo empto ad
imponendum et custodiendum dictum aumbrum superius emptum } *vjd.*
infra idem tempus, per sacramentum computantis.

Et Johanni Wareyn, Grocerio Londonie, pro j vncia de musk ab
eo empto pro diuersis medecinis eiusdem Regine inde faciendis, *xxvjs*
viijd. Et eidem pro j libra piperis ⁶ nigri, *xvjd*, j libra piperis albi,
ijs, ab eo emptis pro dictis medicinis inde faciendis. } *xxxs.*

Et eidem pro j libra quibube ⁷ pro dictis medicinis, *vijs.* Et eidem pro j
libra gariofile, ab eo empta pro dictis medicinis, *ijs.* Et eidem pro j libra macis
ab ipso empta pro dictis medicinis, *ijs iiijd.* Et eidem pro camufer ab eo empta
pro eadem medicine, *xxd.* Et eidem pro j libra de Birdemane ab ipso empta

¹ rosary.

² Ornament worn by women at this time.

³ ciroteca, chirotheca, glove, gauntlet.

⁴ shoes.

⁵ boots.

⁶ pepper.

⁷ quibuba, cubebs, pepper.

pro dicta medicine, *vjs*. Et eidem pro j libra cinamone ab eo empta pro eisdem medicinis, *xviijd*. Et eidem pro j libra zingebri¹ ab ipso empta pro eadem medicine, *ijs*. Et edem [sic] pro j libra de graynes ab eo empta pro dictis medicinis, *iijs*, pro corpore Regine infra dictum tempus huius compoti, prout dictus computans dicit super sacramentum suum.

Probatur. Summa pagine————xli *vjs* *vjd*.

f. 11a

Camera Regine.

Et Johanni Wareyn, pro dimidio libre crodi (?) ab eo empta pro medicinis pro corpore domine Regine, *vjs*. Et eidem pro galanga² ab eo empta pro dictis medicinis, *xvjd*. Et eidem pro dimidio libre marre³ ab ipso empta pro eadem medicine, *xvjd*. Et eidem pro j libra aloes ab eo emptis pro eadem, *xxd*. Et eidem pro ij libris zinzebris ab eo emptis pro eadem medicine, libra ad *ijs*—*iiijs*. Et eidem pro j uncia de aumbre de Rice cons' (?), ab ipso empta pro Regina, *xxvjs viijd*. Et eidem pro j pynte de treacle, ab empta [sic] pro eadem vs in toto pro diuersis medicinis pro corpore Regine infra idem tempus predictum. } *xlvijs*.

Et Radulpho Penne, pro j lagena⁴ aque vite cum ij botellis ab eo emptis ad opus Regine, *vjs viijd*. Et Janyne de Tartery, pro j pote de confectis emptis ad opus dicte Regine, *vs*. Et eidem pro ij pottes de Sitronard et quynce de confectis, *iijs vjd*. Et predicto Johanni Wareyn pro vij libris de pynonad⁵ ab eo emptis ad opus Regine, *xvs viijd*. Et Johanni Joynour pro j cage de ipso empta pro voluere Regine vocata Jaye⁶—*ijs*. Et Johanni Dalahay pro emendacione cuiusdem sithere⁷ Regine, *vjs viijd*. Et Johanni Wareyn predicto pro j olla⁸ continenta vj libras gyngiberii⁹ verti, ab eo empta, precio libre *ijs vjd*,—*xvs*. Et magistro Laurence Lumberd pro aqua vite et j pott pro eadem, ab eo emptis ad opus Regine,—*vs ijd*. Et Johanni Orlegemaker pro emendacione cuiusdam orologii argenti deaurati ad opus Regine, *vjs viijd* in toto infra tempus huius compoti, vt dicit super sacramentum suum.

causa

communicandi
cum baronibus
quis onerandus
est de
veselamentis
auri et argenti,
et quo war-
ranto dictum
Ewer emptum
fuit

Et Johanni Blakeden pro j aquario¹⁰ argenti deaurati ab eo empto ad opus Regine, *lxs*. Et Rogero Kestone pro j pare Cuttellis mensalibus manubriis argenti deaurati per ipsum emptis ad opus dicte Regine, *liijs iiijd* infra tempus supradictum, et eidem Regine liberatis pro voluntate sua inde facenda [sic], vt dicit super sacramentum suum.

Probatur. Summa pagine————xlli *xxd*.

~~xlli~~ ~~xxd~~.

¹ ginger.

² galingale.

³ myrrh?

⁴ gallon.

⁵ Confection made chiefly of almonds and pines.

⁶ Probably a popinjay or parrot.

⁷ harp.

⁸ pot.

⁹ ginger.

¹⁰ ewer.

Johanni Lambard, pro expensis suis equitandi de Rederhithe vsque Ledys et de idem [sic] vsque Londoniam et alibi, pro salve custodiendo diuersos habentos domine Regine de regardis ei factis de dono Regine per diuersos vices infra tempus huius compoti,—*xs xd*. Thome Chaumbre pro carrendo eiusdem habentes de Londonia vsque Ledys per diuersos vices cum j homine et vij equis infra tempus predictum, *xvs xd*. Willelmo Felde de Hariotsham, pro cariendo habentes officine Garderobe per iij vices de Londonia vsque Ledys, de regardis ei factis erga Festum Natale diu infra idem tempus, *iijs iiijd*. Johanni Broune, pro cariendo vnus clothesake et alios habentes eiusdem officine de Londinia vsque Ledys per quatuor vices, de dono ipsius Regine infra tempus huius compoti,—*vjs viijd*. Johanni Goldsmythe, pro stoklokk et claue ab ipso emptis pro officina Garderobe mense Decembris, de regardis ei factis infra idem tempus predictum, *xxjd*. Johanni Lambard, pro emendacione et lauacione diuersorum tapetorum et aliorum diuersorum habentium in officina Garderobe apud Londoniam, infra tempus predictum, *vs viijd*, ad opus prefate Regine, vt dicit super sacramentum suum. } *xliiij. jd.*

Summa pagine——*xliiij. jd.*

Probatur. Summa camere——*xxiijli xijs viijd.*

Probatur. Summa totalis expensarum Garderobe } *lxiiijli iiij. vd ob.*
et Camere Regine.

Probatur. Summa totalis expensarum huius libri } *ccccxxixli xxjd ob.*
cum dietis. } ^{*xx*}
~~*ccccxiijli iijs viijd ob.*~~

Et debet—*cvli viijs jd ob.* Probatur. Summa pagine—*xliiij. jd.* *xliiij. jd.*
lxxviijli vijs iiijd.

Prestita } —nulla, eo quod omnia et singula victualia super expensas hospicii f. 12a
Remanencia } predicti infra tempus predictum empta et prouisa totaliter expendita fuerunt in eodem hospicio antequam Johannes Pelham, miles, de mandato domini Regis Henrici quinti recepit gubernacionem eiusdem Regine, existentis sub gubernacione ipsius Johannis a *xvj^{mo}* die Decembris anno *vij^{mo}* predicti nuper Regis Henrici quinti vsque *viiij^m* diem Marcij tunc proximi sequentis. Ita quod nulla huiusmodi victualia remanserunt in eodem hospicio post predictum *xv^{mum}* diem Decembris dicto anno *vij^{mo}*, vt dicit super sacramentum suum,—*nulla*.

Summa prestitorum et remanenciorum—*nulla*.

^{*c xx*}
iiij iiijli iijs vijd ob.

^{*c*}
~~*v xiijli vijs vijd ob.*~~

Sol. *lxiiijli iiij. vd ob.*

lxxviijli vijs iiijd.

f. 12b is blank. On the inner side of the back cover are the words—

Summa totalis huius libri } [Too faded]
cum dietis. } [to read.]

B.

Inventory of Queen Joan's valuables in the custody of Friar John Randolf, August, 1419.

By Letters Patent dated the 14th August, 1419, Joan Beauchamp, Lady of Abergavenny,¹ was ordered 'to seize all gold, silver, things, goods and jewels of any kind under the keeping of Friar John Raundolf alias Raundell, lately dwelling in the house of the order of Friars Minor in the town of Shrewsbury, or committed by him to any other person to keep, and bring them before the king and council'.² The inventory which she made is extant in three versions, all of them now in the Public Record Office, London, and each of them containing detailed descriptions of the articles found. The publication here of this inventory is due to the great kindness of Dr. A. G. Little, who brought it to my notice and provided me with his transcript of the three versions.

The three versions may be referred to as A, B, and C. A and B are membranes kept in a soft parchment pouch with the reference E101 (Exchequer Accounts)/513/29, together with a letter of privy seal dated the 3rd November, 1419, instructing the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer to give the Lady Joan a discharge. A is in English and is printed below; as the introductory paragraph refers to Henry V as 'nuper Rex Anglie', it would appear to be a copy made after the king's death. B is in French; it is an indenture, dated the 5th December, 1419, between the Exchequer and Joan Beauchamp. The contents are substantially the same as in A, with two exceptions. B adds a price to each item, together with the weight in the case of the gold and silver articles, and gives a detailed list of the clothes, bedding, napery, etc., which are not specified in A. In the transcript of the A version printed below, the prices and weights as given in B have been added in italics and enclosed within square brackets. C is in Latin; the Public Records Office reference is E101/513/30. The Roll is headed: 'R{Nicholaus Dixon Baro³ Rogerus Appleton clericus', and in the margin is the word 'Wallia'. This

¹ Daughter of Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel; sister and eventually (1415) co-heir of Thomas Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel; wife of William Beauchamp, Lord of Abergavenny, who died on the 8th May, 1411. She died the 14th November, 1435. She seems to have owned at one time the Tewkesbury Psalter (see D. D. Egbert, *The Tewkesbury Psalter, Speculum*, Vol. X, Oct. 1935, pp. 376-386). It is not clear why the king entrusted her with this commission.

² C[alendar of] P[atent] R[olls], 1416-22, p. 271. The inventory states that the Letters Patent were dated the 14th August, but the date given in the *Calendar* is 16th August.

³ Nicholas Dixon was appointed a Baron of the Exchequer on the 26th January, 1423 (N. H. Nicolas, *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, Vol. III (London, 1834), p. 22). Roger Appleton was at this time an auditor of the Exchequer, as he had been in Henry V's reign (*C.P.R.*, 1422-29, pp. 52, 54; *ibid.*, 1413-16, p. 247; *ibid.*, 1416-22, p. 117).

version appears to be a copy made for the use of the Exchequer of Receipt ; the contents are the same as those of B, with slight differences.

The gold, silver, and jewels certainly belonged to Queen Joan, though her name nowhere appears ; some of the articles bore the arms of Brittany. Amongst the clothes were some which belonged to Friar Randolf—e.g. “ deux sengles chapons pour le frere de russet, pris de iiijd ”.

This inventory was obviously made as a result of the suspicion of witchcraft which had fallen on Queen Joan and her confessor ; Queen Joan was arrested at the beginning of October, and Randolf was captured about the same time. If the government was hoping to find instruments of sorcery or books of magic among these possessions of Queen Joan, it must have been disappointed ; no mention is made in the inventory of the former, while all the books in the friar's custody were not only innocent but, apart from a missal, said to be valueless. If this was true, they must have been in striking contrast to her gold and silver objects and jewels, which were considerable in quantity and valuable in quality. The character of this inventory is therefore in accordance with, and lends additional support to, the arguments developed in the present writer's article (quoted above) on Queen Joan's captivity. It was there shown how slender is the evidence of her sorcery, and how her very considerable wealth was so useful to the government in its financial distress that the reluctance to part with such riches was probably the most important reason why she was kept a prisoner, untried and uncondemned, for nearly three years.

Particulare computi Johanne Domine de Bergevenny, quam Dominus Henricus V^{us}, nuper Rex Anglie, per litteras suas patentes datas xiiij^o die Augusti anno vij^{mo} eiusdem nuper Regis prefate Johanne directas et penes has particulas remanentes,¹ assignauit ad aurum, argentum, ac omnia alia res bona et catalla, necnon iocalia cuiusque generis fuerunt, que fuerunt sub custodia fratris Johannis Randolf, alias dicti Raundelle seu quocumque nomine nuncupetur, nuper com-morantis in domo Ordinis Fratrum Minorum in villa Salopie, aut per ipsum alicui persone custodiendo commissa, quouis modo vbicumque inueniri poterunt, per breue Regis de priuato sigillo suo datum tercio de Nouembris dicto anno vij^{mo} ipsius nuper Regis Thesaurario et Baronibus Scaccarii directum.

Eadem r[eddit] compotum de—Dxiiij libris per ipsam receptam in pecunia numerata, que fuerunt ipsius fratris Johannis Randolfi inuente in uno pari de trussyng coffres² in domo Ordinis Fratrum Minorum in villa Salopie, ibidem per ipsam arestatam virtute litterarum Regis patentium (etc.) [*pris de lez ditz coffres, ijs.*]

Et de—

1 tablet of gold wyth an image of Seint John Baptist and an other of Seint Kateryne and other two imagynes of virgines [*xlv*s].

¹ Instead of ‘ et penes has particulas remanentes ’, the C version [E101/513/30] has the reading ‘ et super hunc computum restitutum ’.

² packing-chests.

- ij fiols of gold wyth two stones of Israel ¹ and two cheynes of gold and xij perles
[*pois iiij vnces demi ; pris de la vnce, xxs—iiijli xs*].
- iiij peire of bedys of gold [*poisantz xvij vnces ; pris de la vnce, xxs—xviijli*].
- ij spones of gold yn a case of silke wrought with the armes of Bretaine [*pois deux vnces vn quart ; pris de la vnce, xxxiijs iiijd—lxxvs*].
- j safre ewage ² closed in gold wyth a (schorte) ³ cheyne and a ryng of the same
[*pris de vjs viijd*].
- j ryng of gold wyth a square saphire wryten ther inne *a ma vie* [*pris de viijs iiijd*].
- j signet of gold wyth a stone of Israel theryn [*vjs viijd*].
- j cheyne of gold wyth a tresse ⁴ florette of the same, wryten ther inne *amer et seruier*
[*pois vn vnce vn quart ; pris de la vnce, xxs—xxvs*].
- j rynge of gold wyth a fayre balys [*xxs*].
- j broche of gold shapen like an hert, wryten ther inne *a vous me lie* [*vjs viijd*].
- j broche of gold wryten *a ma vie de cuer entier* [*vjs viijd*].
- j braunche of corall garnyssed with silver and gild [*viijd*].
- j serpentyn in the gyse of a ring garnyssed wyth silver and ouer gild [*xxd*].
- j stone of Israel half white half rede garnyssed wyth silver and gild [*xxd*].
- j brode ryng of silver and overgilt ouuded (?) with the same.
- j ryng of ambyr (ouesqz) ⁵ j hedbede of the same [*ijs (?)*].
- j berell of (sic) and j amber knytte togider with a threde [*vd*].
- j bokell of a schoo of siluer sengle ⁶ [*jd*].
- j chalys siluer and gild wryten on the paten *Benedicamus patrem et filium*, and on
the chalys *calicem salutaris* &c [*pois iij lb. j vnce demi ; pris de la lb. xls—vjli vs*].
- j chalys of siluer and gild with an image of the Trinite on the paten wryten wyth
miserere mei deus [*pois iij lb. j vnce j quart ; pris de la lb. xls—iiijli ijs iiijd*].
- j ⁷ fiols of a sute of siluer and gild grauen about with a trayle of iue leuys [*pois
1 lb. vj vnces ; pris de la lb. xls—lxs*].
- j pax brede ⁸ of siluer and gild wyth a crucifix and the images of Marie and John
pounced and enamelled [*poisantz deux lb. ; pris de la lb. xls—iiijli*].
- j pax brede of siluer and gild with iiij angeles atte corneres beryng the armes of
the passoun [*pois j lb. j vnce ; pris de la lb. xxxiijs iiijd—xxxvjs . .*].
- j sacryng belle of siluer and gild [*pois v vnces ; pris de la vnce ijs viijd—xiiis iiijd*].
- j chaufyng balle ⁹ of siluer and gild with a salutacion on that on syde and the
Trinite on that othir side [*pois j lb. iij quarts ; price not given*].

¹ Cameos or intaglios. Cf. J. P. Migne, *Encyclopédie Théologique*, 3^e série, t. 27; *Dictionnaire d'Orfèvrerie*, par M. l'abbé Texier, article on 'Pierre d'Israel', in columns 1287, 1288.

² Ewage usually means a precious stone having the colour of sea-water.

³ Interlined in another hand.

⁴ *croice*, in the B version.

⁵ Interlined 'oneretur secundum indenturam'.

⁶ simple, plain, without ornament.

⁷ *deux*, in the B version.

⁸ A tablet, round or quadrangular, with a projecting handle behind, which was kissed by the celebrating priest at Mass, and passed to the officiating clergy, and then to the congregation, to be kissed.

⁹ chafing-pan.

- j sconse of siluer and gild pounced with two pellicanes [*pois 1 lb. 1 vnce* ; price not given].
- j penner¹ and an incorne of siluer and gild with a resoun. *God make vs goode men writen ther opoun* [*pois v vnces iij quarts* ; *pris de la vnce ijs viijd—xvs iiijd*].
- j hiegh standyng cuppe of siluer and gild couered, chaced, and pounced, with the cnoppe of the couerle enamele grene [*pois iij lb. viij vnces* ; *pris de la lb. xls—vijli vjs viijd*].
- j standyng cuppe of siluer and gild couered, pounced, with traynes and leues with oute and pleyne with inne [*pois ij lb. v vnces iij quarts* ; *pris de la lb. xxxiis iiijd—iiijli ijs iiijd*].
- j ronde basyn of siluer and gild, chaced like a sterre, with roses sette on the bordurs [*pois iiij lb. viij vnces* ; *pris de la lb. xxxijs—vijli ixs iiijd*].
- j tablet of siluer and gild enameled with a crucifix hanged wyth a lace of gold [*pois j vnce, j quart* ; price not given].
- j peire of smale botelles of siluer and gild putte in two caces of curboille² laced with silke [*pois viij vnces* ; *pris de la lb. vj viijd—xxjs iiijd* (sic)].
- j litille botelle of siluer and gild with an entreclos³ of gold [*pois j vnce, j quart* ; price not given].
- v goblettes of a sute of siluer with the bordures gild [*pois j lb. iij vnces* ; *pris de la lb. xxxjs—xls ob*].
- j cace of curboille with iiij goblettes and a couerle of siluer with the bordurs gild [*v autres goblettes pesantz j lb v vnces j quart* ; *pris de la lb. xxxjs—xliiis vjd ob qr.*].
- j grete bolle of siluer, couered, chaced wyth ponches [*pois iiij lb. ix vnces* ; *pris de la lb. xxxs—vijli ijs vjd*].
- ij cuppes of a sute of siluer, chaced with roses and ragged staues [*pois x vnces—xxvs*].
- j cuppe couered of siluer, chaced with ponches [*pois j lb. vj vnces—xls*].
- j cuppe couered of siluer of the old makyng writen with an R and an W on the case of the couerle [*pois j lb. j quart* ;—*xxs vjd ob*].
- j cuppe couered of siluer with a trayle grauen on the couerle with a resoun *Benedictus qui venit &c* [*pois j lb. iij vnces* ;—*xxxvijs vjd*].
- ij tastours of siluer pleyne [*pois vij vnces* ;—*xvijs vjd*].
- ij smale plein cuppes of siluer [*pois x vnces* ;—*xxvs*].
- j cuppe of siluer couered with an acorne on the couerle half gilt half white (sic) [*pois j lb. viij vnces iij quarts* ;—*ljs xd ob*].
- j goblet of siluer with the bordur gild.⁴
- j litille tastour of siluer for rose water plein [*pois j vnce demi* ;—*iijs ix d*].

¹ A case or sheath for pens, carried at the girdle.

² cuir-bouilli, leather boiled or soaked in hot water, and, when soft, moulded into any required form ; on becoming dry and hard it retains the form given to it, and offers considerable resistance to cuts, blows, etc.

³ interclosure, inclosure.

⁴ This item is omitted in the B version.

j fork of siluer, with a dragons hede holdyng vp the stalke, for grene Gynger
[*pois j vnce demi ;—iij s ix d*].

iiij dozen spones of siluer with the knoppes gilt [*pois ij lb. vj vnces demi ;—lxxvjs
iiij d*].

j dozen spones of siluer where of the pomelles ben of diuers sortes [*pois vij vnces ;
—xvijs vjd*].

j lytell ladelles of siluer [*pois v vnces j quart ;—xiiij s jd ob*].

j chalys of siluer broken, with the paten and the fote gilt, writen on the fote
Galfridus Barbod [*pois j lb. j vnces ;—xxxiijs vijd*].

j peire botelles of siluer hanged with a lace of silk, white, and blak [*pois j lb.
iiij vnces ;—xl s*].

j table of iuery grauen with imagerye, with a cace of curbeille [*xxvjs viij d*].

j missal of Salisbury vse newe couered with motley Baudekyn ¹ [*cs*].

(Continued on dorse :—)

Item—j corporeux ² cace with a corporeux ther yn of clothe of golde [*ijs*].

j night cappe for a woman, rede after the gise of Bretaigne [*vjd*].

ij blakke furies of schankes.³

j athamunde stone [*vn pier d'Adamante ; pris de xxd*].

ij clothe sakkes of the same freres with beddyng and many other diuerse clothes
and furies and napery, the whiche ben enseled with the seles of Bartilmewe
and William Leuenthorp.

j fetherbedde, a bolstre of the same sorte, j materas trussed to gider yn a corde.

j lesse cofre with diuerses small bokes of the forsaid Freres.

j more cofre with napery and other diuerses peses of siluer harneyse.

The inventory, according to the B version.

Indenture—tag for seal ; seal (red) now lost.

Ceste endenture faite a Westmoustier, le quint iour de Decembre, l'an du
reigne nostre tres soueraigne seigneur le Roy Henry quynt puis le conquest vij^{me},
per entre William Kynewolmershe, Tresorer d'Engleterre, John Wodehous, et
John Throk Morton, Chamberleynes de l'Estchequer nostre dit tres soueraigne
seigneur, d'un parte, et Johanne Beauchamp, Dame de Bergeuenny, d'autre
parte, tesmoigne que les ditz Tresorer et Chamberleynes ount recieus de la dite
dame, per les maynes William Leuenthorp, les or, jewelx, et biens ensuantz,
lesquelles feurent (sic) Frer John Randolf et trouez denz la maison de les Freres
Menours en la ville de Salopebirs, et per la dite dame arestieux et seisez es maynes
notre dit tres soueraigne seigneur, per virtue de sez lettres patentes a luye a celle

¹ baudkin, rich brocade or rich shot silk.

² corporal, the cloth, usually of linen, upon which the consecrated elements
are placed during the celebration of the mass, and with which the elements, or
the remnants of them, are covered after the celebration.

³ shanks, a kind of fur obtained from the legs of animals, especially kids
goats, or sheep, used for trimming outer garments.

cause directz. C'estassauoir, en primes, en vn paire de trussyng coffres *Dxiiijl d'or* ; pris de lez ditz coffres, ijs.

Then follow the items substantially as in the English version, A ; there are some omissions and the order is not always the same. The weights and prices of the various articles are added ; these have been inserted above, in the transcript of the A version, in italics in square brackets. The B version ends quite differently from the A version, the former giving a detailed account of the clothes, etc., as follows :—

Vn missalle del vse de Sarum, nouel couere oue motles baudekyn, pris de cs. Et auxi vn goune de russet, furre oue fechewes,¹ et vne kote de russet de la narwe shappe, furree oue fechewes, pris de *xiijs iiijd.* Vn auncien cloke de russet sengle, pris de *ijs.* Deux furrez de bugge² de agnelle, pris de *xvjs viijd.* Vn mantelle de noire, furre oue bugge, pris de *xxs.* Vn goune de noire, furre oue bugge, pris de *vijs.* Deux sengles chapons, pour le frere, de russet, pris de *iiijd.* Vn pylche³ de blank agnelle, pris de *ijs.* Vn auncien sengle cloke de noire, pris de *xijd.* Vn auncien blank curtell, pris de *xijd.* Vn auncien gown de noire sengle, pris de *ijs.* Vn auncien kirtelle de noire russet, pris de *xijd.* Vn chapon de noire, furre oue bugge, pris de *xijd.* Vn surkote de noire de lyre⁴ sengle, pris de *xijd.* Deux auncien chapons de russet, pris de *iiijd.* Vne pane⁵ de blanket furree oue noire agnelle, pris de *xvjd.* Vn faldyng⁶ de blanket, pris de *xijd.* Vn autre faldyng de blanket, pris de *xvjd.* Deux autres blankettes faldyngs, pris de *ijs viijd.* Deux blankettes, pris de *iijs.* Vn auncien cloke de russet, pris de *viijd.* Vn auncien blanket, pris de *xijd.* Vn lit de rouge worstede, oue vne seele⁷ entier ; vn couerlet, deux curteynes de le mesme, pris de *xs.* Vn lit de vert worstede, oue vne seele entier ; trois curteynes, deux cofres, et vn couerlet de le mesme, pris de *xxxs.* Vn banker⁸ blank et rouge, et vn quyshone de motlee vert, pris de *iiijd.* Quatre verges de noire russet, pris de *vjs viijd.* (Deux vergez de noire russet, pris de *iijs iiijd*—interlined.) Vn boordcloith contenant vj verges, pris de *iijs.* Seopt vlnes de drape liengne⁹ pris de vlne, vijd,—*iiijs jd.* Seopt napkynes, pris de *vjd.* Vn auncien boordcloith, contenant iiij vergez, pris de *iijs.* Vn bordcloith de werk, contenant iiij vlnes, pris de la vlne, xd,—*iijs iiijd.* Vn autre bordecloith de werk, contenant iiij vlnes, pris del vlne, xd,—*iijs iiijd.* Vn autre boordcloith de werk contenant xxj vlnes, j verge, pris de *xs.* Vn towell de werk, pris de *vs iiijd.* Vn towell de werk de Paris contenant x verges, *xs.* Un cloith de werk de Paris contenant v verges, pris de *iijs iiijd.* Vn cloith de champein contenant v verges, pris de

¹ fitchews. Fitchew is the fur of the polecat.

² budge, lambskin with the fur dressed outwards. (Cf. S. W. Beck, *The Draper's Dictionary*, London, 1882, p. 34.)

³ An outer garment made of coarse wool.

⁴ The name of a town in Brabant, now Lire, or Lierre, which gave its name to a certain kind of cloth, e.g., black of lyre, green of lyre.

⁵ robe.

⁶ A garment of coarse woollen cloth.

⁷ canopy.

⁸ A covering, generally of tapestry, for a bench or chair.

⁹ linen.

xxd. [A number of other cloths and towels not noted.] Vn quylt blank pris de *xiijs iiijd.* Vn matras, pris de *ijs.* Deux cloithesakkes, pris de *vjs viijd.* Quatre quayers papur, oue foile d'or, pris de *tijs iiijd.*¹ Et auxi diuers liures et quayers de art et autre science, dont les noms ne sceient estre descerniez (?), nient preisez a cause que sount de nulle value.¹ En testmoignaunce de quele chose sibien lez ditz Tresorer et Chaumberlaynes le seal de la Resceipt de l'Escheker notre dit tressoueraigne sieur a lour office regardant enuers la dite dame remaynaunt come la dite dame son seal enuers les ditz Tresorer et Chamberlaynes reseant entrechaungeablement ount my as partie de cestes endentures, d'ou les iour, lieu, et an suisditz.

¹ The Latin (C) version of the inventory (Exchequer Accounts 513/30) reads : Et aliis diuersis libris et quaternis de sophistria et aliis diuersis scienciis, quorum nomina non possunt discerni non apreciata, ex eo quod nullius sunt valoris, vt dicit per sacramentum suum, sicut continetur in quodam rotulo de particulis hic in thesauro liberato.

ST. PAUL IN EPHEBUS : (3) THE CORINTHIAN CORRESPONDENCE.¹

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IN the two previous lectures in this series I have dealt with the letters to the Philippians and the Galatians. For this one I have set down the Corinthian correspondence, a subject of great complexity and difficulty, yet one of endless fascination, and to the serious student greatly rewarding in the light it sheds on the day to day life of the Gentile Church.

The materials for our study are the two canonical Epistles in the New Testament. From evidence supplied by these documents we know that Paul wrote at least four letters to the Church at Corinth during the period with which we are concerned. To avoid confusion I refer to our existing canonical Epistles by the customary names, First and Second Corinthians, while the four letters I call Corinthians A, B, C, and D. The following conclusions about the relations of I and II Cor. to Cor. A, B, C, and D are fairly widely accepted.

Cor. A was written before I Cor. It is possible that a fragment of Cor. A survives embedded in II Cor. vi. 14-vii. 1.

Cor. B is identical with I Cor.

I Cor. was followed by a personal visit to Corinth, which ended in a complete and devastating rebuff for the Apostle. On his return to Ephesus from this 'Painful Visit' he wrote Cor. C, the 'Severe Letter'. It is possible that II Cor. x-xiii is part of this letter.

Cor. D was written on hearing that the severe letter had produced a better frame of mind among the Corinthians and

¹ An expansion of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 8th of January, 1941.

that relations between them and him were once more to be on the old footing of mutual confidence and affection. If II Cor. x-xiii is part of Cor. C, as I am inclined to think, then II Cor. i-ix will belong to Cor. D. Otherwise our II Cor. as a whole will be identical with Cor. D.

Now it is clear that one lecture is not enough to deal adequately with the whole of this correspondence, which is spread over a considerable period of time and covers a great variety of topics. I therefore propose a limited objective, namely, the attempt to picture from the evidence supplied by I Cor. the state of affairs in Corinth at the time when Paul wrote the letter, and in particular the divisions within the community and the relation of those divisions to Paul's own dealings with the Church of Jerusalem and its leaders. I think that any light we may gain on conditions at Corinth will also serve to illuminate the much more obscure and difficult problem of the relations between Paul and his colleagues at Jerusalem and elsewhere. It seems to me certain that this period was a critical one for the Apostle, whose authority and status were constantly being challenged within and without his Churches, and here in I Cor. as in Philippians and Galatians we may see many signs that Paul is on his defence against attempts to question his calling or to belittle his achievements as a missionary. The defence of Paul's status, of Paul's Gospel, and of Paul's Churches tends to become a single and indivisible undertaking.

I shall consequently leave on one side all the rare and refreshing fruit that might be gathered if we approached I Cor. asking only what we could learn from it about the fundamental principles of Christian dogma and Christian ethics. Instead I shall try to relate each part of the letter to the actual situation in which it was written, in the hope that the situation may help to explain the letter and that the letter may illuminate the situation and focus more clearly for us the issues that were at stake. The letter lends itself readily to this kind of treatment. As you know, it breaks up on analysis into a number of separate and self-contained sections, each of which deals with a single topic. It is clear from the way in which many of these topics are introduced¹

¹ Περὶ δὲ ὧν ἐγράψατε (vii. 1), cf. vii. 25 ; viii. 1 ; xii. 1 ; xvi. 1, 12.

that Paul is answering questions raised in Corinth. In each case we must try to get behind Paul's answer to the minds of those who put the question, to discover what purpose lay behind the enquiry, what answer they hoped to receive, how the question and Paul's answer square with Jewish, Jewish-Christian, and Gentile (Græco-Roman) sentiments and convictions. I venture to think that this method will produce some interesting results. It will raise more questions than it answers, but both questions and answers will be, I hope, worth while.

I Cor. like other Pauline letters opens with the prescript, which runs as follows :

' Paul called to be an Apostle of Jesus Christ by the will of God, with brother Sosthenes, to the Church of God which is at Corinth, consecrated in Jesus Christ, called as Saints, with all who call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ in every place, theirs and ours, grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.'

The difficulty, and the point of interest, lies in the strange phrase 'with all who call . . . theirs and ours'. I think it right to take *τόπος* in the sense which it has in Jewish Synagogue inscriptions—'place of worship'.¹ What Paul means is 'in every church, theirs and ours'. There can be little doubt as to what Paul means by 'ours': it is the churches of his own founding. 'Theirs' will then apply to the other Christian communities founded by other Apostles but owning the same Lord Jesus Christ. The force of the whole prescript is thus to stress the unity of the Church as a whole, and at the same time to insist on the equality of the different communities comprised in the unity. The Corinthian Christians are Saints by calling along with all the others and on precisely the same footing as the others.

The thanksgiving which follows (i. 4-9) again underlines the equal status of the Corinthian Church with the other communities of Christians, this time in respect of gifts and graces. They lack no spiritual endowment (7). This may seem a very odd assertion when we reflect how Paul goes on in this letter to

¹ I am glad to see that Dr. Moffatt assigns the same meaning to the word *τόπος*. (See his *Commentary*, p. xxiii.) On the Jewish use of the term see the detached note at the end of this article.

rebuke unsparingly the faults and shortcomings of these same Corinthian Christians. But it is not so strange after all. It is a reminder that we are dealing with a real man who would defend his own against all comers without surrendering his own right to deal faithfully with their faults.

The root of the matter is that all the time Paul is fighting on two fronts. He struggles against those who would assign to the Gentile Christian an inferior status in the Church. As against all such he insists on the absolute equality of all Christians before Christ. On the other hand, he has to contend with those inside the Gentile Christian community who are inclined to play fast and loose with the precious privileges that are theirs as Christians. He fights against those who value Christianity so highly that they grudge its full benefits to the Gentile, *and* against those Gentiles who fail to realise just how valuable Christianity is, and try to eke it out with remnants of their old pagan inheritance. Against those who cling blindly to the pride and prejudice which they have from the past he declares that Christianity is not primarily a new form of Jewish nationalism or a new development of Greek culture, but an act of God : a proclamation of God's saving intervention in human affairs, leading to faith in God, which in its turn issues in man's confession of his faith in God through Jesus Christ, and a new life proper to those who stand in a new relation to God. That is the fundamental thing which is never allowed to get out of the centre of Paul's picture, and it is an essential part of his greatness that he knows how to keep it in the centre.

But it is a difficult task, the more difficult because of the petty jealousies and divisions that threaten the unity of the Church. To these divisions we are introduced at the beginning of the letter. There is mention of four parties, who take as their rallying cries the names of Paul, Apollos, Cephas, and Christ. Paul we know, Apollos we know, Cephas we know (it is the Aramaic name of Peter). But who is the 'Christ' who is invoked as the head of a clique in Corinth? The most various answers have been given, and the problem seems as far as ever from solution. It may be that study along the lines already suggested will do something towards clearing up the obscurity.

One party division can, I think, be disposed of fairly easily. The Apollos party does not represent a real split in the community. No doubt there were members of the Corinthian Church who looked to Apollos as their father in the Gospel in the sense that they owed their conversion to Christianity to his preaching. But that did not in any way trench on the authority of Paul. On the contrary, Paul himself recognises Apollos as a useful and valued colleague. 'I planted, Apollos watered.' Here there is no rivalry or jealousy: Paul and Apollos collaborate in the work. This is the clear inference to be drawn from iii. 1-9. But in iii. 10-17 there is another, whose name is not mentioned, who is represented as trying to build on Paul's foundations.¹ What is to be built is the Temple of God, and Paul makes it clear that the community is in fact the Temple. In the community the Spirit dwells. But is this other, who is using Paul's foundations, really building the Temple or only marring work already done? Paul's language strongly suggests that he holds the latter view. It also suggests that the mischief is being done where Paul's work has already been put in—on the foundation. That seems to be the purport of the statement: 'Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, even Christ'. What other foundation would anyone think of laying? There is only one alternative, so far as I know, and that is the one mentioned in Matt. xvi. 18, where Peter is the Rock on which the Church is to be built. Were the Petrine claims already being made in Corinth? And is this 'other', who is trying to lay another foundation for the Church, Peter himself or someone acting on his behalf?

These questions at once bring us face to face with the thorny problem of leadership in the primitive community. It is obviously not possible to discuss this adequately here, and I must be content to state briefly some points that seem to be relevant to our main subject.

During the ministry of Jesus the question of leadership did not get past the academic stage. There was only one Leader, whose authority was never questioned from within the group of

¹ That Paul regarded this as a somewhat reprehensible practice is clear from the pains he takes to clear himself of any similar charge in II Cor. x. 12-18 and Rom. xv. 15-24.

His followers. The only disciple to turn against Him had to stab Him in the back. At the same time there was keen interest in the question who should have the second and succeeding places after Jesus, as we learn from the story of the Sons of Zebedee in Mark x. And it is not without significance that John has a leading place in the early chapters of Acts, while James is singled out for destruction by Agrippa. The Sons of Zebedee were clearly not destined to live in obscurity at any time, least of all when Jesus was no longer there in the flesh to hold an undisputed and indisputable primacy.

In the earliest days of the Jerusalem community Peter takes a leading place, and this does not seem to be any merely official status. Rather he is outstanding in virtue of two things : (1) He is the first witness to the Resurrection. For this we have the testimony of Paul, who, when he gave it, had no inducement to go out of his way to add to the prestige of Peter ; (2) In the critical early days of the infant Church he displayed high qualities of leadership and personal courage, which doubtless earned for him the confidence of the whole community.

In the record of Acts Peter appears as a leader all through the first half, the last mention of him being at xv. 7. In the earlier chapters he is associated frequently with John, the last mention of the pair being at viii. 4. The order of the names is always Peter, John in the Acts, and this is the case also in Gal. ii. 9. This, for what it is worth, suggests the precedence of Peter over John in the early days.

So far we have not moved outside the circle of the Twelve. A further complication was provided by the fact that Jesus had brothers and sisters, and that the brothers, headed by the eldest, James, joined the Christian community in Jerusalem. The question where in the order of precedence the blood-relations of the Lord should find their place could not be shelved, and it seems to have been settled on the most favourable terms for James and his brethren. In I Cor. ix. 5 Paul speaks of ' the brethren of the Lord and Cephas ', and in Gal. ii. 9 he names James and Cephas and John, in that order, as the reputed pillars of the Jerusalem community. Both these letters belong to the time round about A.D. 55. But it is clear that James had taken an

important, and eventually perhaps the most important, place in the Church before this date. He appears first at Acts xii. 17, in the story of the imprisonment of Peter by Agrippa and his wonderful escape. This event must fall before A.D. 44, the year of Agrippa's death. It is noteworthy that in the story it is Peter himself who directs that the news of his escape is to be communicated to 'James and the brethren'. In the account of the Jerusalem Council in Acts xv the position of James is unchallenged, and the status which he enjoys there seems to me to be confirmed by what Paul writes in Gal. ii. 11 ff., where Peter is thrown into a panic by a message from James.¹ It is, I think, possible that one factor that helped to establish the primacy of James was the fact that Peter was a good deal out of Jerusalem, whereas James was always on the spot.

The primacy of James was, I think, established by 48 or 49, the date of the Jerusalem Council. I do not think that it can be traced back to a much earlier time. Paul tells us in Gal. i. 18 that some three years after his conversion he went up to Jerusalem to make the acquaintance of Peter, and then mentions almost casually that he also saw James, whom he lumps with the 'other Apostles'. The natural interpretation of the text requires us to presume that at that time Peter was still the principal man in the community. If it is right to date the conversion of Paul about A.D. 34, the first visit will fall about 37, and it would seem that by that time James was reckoned with the Apostles: before 44 he had reached such a position that Peter regarded him as *at least* the second in command: by 48 or 49 he seems to be clearly first among the Apostles. This primacy was, I think, already established in 47 or 48, the date I assign to the second visit of Paul recorded in Gal. ii.

It may be mere coincidence, though I think it is more than that, that soon after we get the evidence of the primacy of James, we also get the evidence of attempts to assert the authority of Peter in the sphere of Paul's work. Whether Peter in this was seeking a new sphere for himself outside the supervision of James, or acting as James's agent, I do not attempt to determine. It

¹ See my article on the *Problem of the Epistle to the Galatians* in this BULLETIN, Vol. 24, No. 1, April, 1940.

does, however, seem fairly clear that it was only the fall of Jerusalem and the consequent dispersal of the Jerusalem community that stopped the foundation of a regular Christian Caliphate with its headquarters in the Holy City. We know how vigorously Paul resisted any attempt to encroach on his authority: we do not know how the struggle went in Palestine, or indeed whether there was any struggle at all. What we do know is that at the beginning the initiative is in the hands of Peter, and that later it has passed to James.

With this by way of preface we may proceed to consider some of the matters dealt with in the body of the letter.

We may begin with the reference to the 'Previous letter' which I call Cor. A (I Cor. v. 9-13). This reference comes in the course of Paul's remarks on the case of sexual immorality in the Corinthian Church; but I very much doubt whether it was prompted by any knowledge of this particular case. Indeed I should be inclined to doubt whether it was written during the Ephesian period. It is more probable that what Paul said in Cor. A was based on his general knowledge of the Christians in Corinth. Then the letter may have been written at any time after the Apostle's departure from Corinth in about A.D. 51. There is one remark that may be significant. It comes in v. 11, where Paul forbids association with Church members of bad character and will not sanction even sitting down to a meal in their company. Is it too hazardous to suggest that we may have here an echo of the controversy that shook the Church at Antioch a short time before and required a Council to settle it (Gal. ii. 11 ff.; Acts xv. 28 f.)? May it not be that Paul was giving in this letter *his* idea of what constituted a 'kosher' table for Christians, with all the emphasis on the company rather than the viands? The matter comes up again later in I Cor.

Next we may consider the question (vi. 1-8) of Church members suing one another before civil courts. In protesting against this practice Paul is at one with Jewish sentiment and custom. The authoritative Rabbinical rulings on the subject are conveniently given by Billerbeck¹ while the actual practice can be learned from Juster.² As to the former, it was laid down

¹ *Kommentar*, iii. 362 ff.

² *Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain*, ii. 93-126.

by R. Tarphon and R. Eleazar b. Azariah (both c. A.D. 100) that Jews must not sue one another before pagan courts. The proof text was found in Exod. xxi. 1, and it is clear that the Rabbis were only declaring what had long been the rule. For in Palestine before A.D. 70 'Jewish tribunals had exclusive competence in civil cases where both parties were Jews'.¹ In the Diaspora it seems clear that Jews went to their own courts, which had competence to deal with civil cases where both parties were Jews. It is true that in the pagan world there were mutual benefit societies whose members were bound to abstain from suing one another in the courts, as well as religious brotherhoods in which all disputes between members were resolved by arbitration within the fellowship.² It does not appear, however, that these admirable bodies had had much influence on the practice of the Corinthian Christians, for they *had* had a lawsuit, and the case against these actions in pagan courts is argued from the Jewish and Christian standpoint with no appeal to the example offered by *eranoi*, *sodalitates*, and *sunodoi*. In fact, vi. 1-6 is the kind of criticism that could have been passed by any Jew or Jewish Christian—including of course, Paul himself—on the doings at Corinth. The characteristic voice of Paul is heard in vv. 7-8, where he protests that the real scandal is not that they go to law before the heathen, but that they need to go to law at all. It seems to me likely that in vv. 1-6 we have the kind of criticism that was passed by the Cephas party speaking from the Jewish Christian standpoint. Paul feels bound to agree with the criticism, but himself goes much further. There should be *no* dispute to bring before any tribunal, domestic or external. There are thus two distinct points :

(a) Christian cases should be tried by Christian courts. (Cf. Matt. xviii. 15-18, which belongs to the strongly Jewish Christian stratum of the Gospel.)

(b) There should be no cases : Christian courts should have perpetual white gloves. This, I think, is Paul's own view.

With chapter vii begin Paul's answers to a series of queries put to him by the Corinthian Church or some part or parts of it. It is in the study of these topics especially that we may hope for

¹ Juster, *op. cit.*, ii. 95.

² See Moffatt's *Commentary*, *in loc.*

some light on what was going on behind the scenes at Corinth. Two points are discussed in chapter vii, family life in general, with special regard to the relations of husband and wife, and the peculiar form of family then coming into vogue in which couples lived together in a relation of brother and sister rather than husband and wife. On matters of this sort Jewish principles were well defined. Marriage and the begetting of children were the norm. Mixed marriages between Jews and non-Jews were frowned upon. The husband was the head of the family. In this discussion Paul is clearly moving away from the Jewish dislike of mixed marriages. He is equally clearly engaged in an internal conflict between his inherited conviction that the husband has the last word and the new principle, which I think goes back to Jesus himself,¹ that husband and wife in marriage meet on a footing of real equality. Similarly, in the treatment of the question about the *parthenoi*. The thing itself seems to be contrary to Jewish sentiment, for which the normal sex-relation of husband and wife is a real good, a privilege accorded and a duty imposed by God. The best non-Jewish opinion, on the other hand, as represented by Stoicism, recognised the naturalness of the biological functions involved but deprecated the engagement of the feelings and the consequent loss of the self-contained, self-possessed calm of the philosopher. Paul takes up a position that is in part eschatological: the fashion of this world is passing away and Christians must adapt themselves to that fact. But there is also the recognition of a tension between the claims of family life and the claims of the Lord—between the ‘morality of my station and its duties’ and the ‘morality of grace’. That tension we are still trying to reduce. We may ask who wanted Paul’s guidance about *parthenoi*. It seems unlikely that the request would come from those with Jewish-Christian sympathies. One is tempted to think that it was the followers of Apollos or the members of the ‘Christ’ party who were concerned about the matter. It may be suggested that at Corinth there was a movement to establish these ‘spiritual’ unions, and that it was being criticised from the Jewish standpoint by the Cephas party. The same party may well have had

¹ See *The Mission and Message of Jesus*, pp. 428-430.

a good deal to say about the evil of mixed marriages. Paul has to decide between these conflicting views, and he does it in a way of his own.

Next comes the question of meat that had come to the butcher's block by way of the heathen altar. As we well know the Jewish conscience was extremely sensitive about anything connected with idolatry, and there is an *a priori* presumption that where this question is raised, Jewish or Jewish-Christian scruples are involved. I have argued elsewhere¹ that this question had been raised at Antioch, as described in Gal. ii. 11 ff., and that the answer had been given in the finding of the Jerusalem Council in Acts xv. These events are prior to the writing of I Cor. Why does Paul now discuss the problem as if the Jerusalem Council had never met? I cannot help thinking that the question was raised at Corinth by the Cephas party, and that Paul's way of dealing with it is, and is meant to be, a snub. He takes it as a matter of purely domestic concern within the Gentile-Christian community, the implication being that the Jerusalem compromise is doubtless suitable for Churches like that of Antioch with a mixed membership, but that in predominantly Gentile-Christian communities Jewish taboos do not count and Jewish-Christian visitors cannot presume to legislate in these matters for Gentile-Christian Churches.

At this point Paul breaks off into an impassioned defence of himself, his status as an Apostle, and his missionary methods (ch. ix), returning to close the discussion about meats sacrificed to idols in chapter x. It is highly significant that the status of the Apostle is intruded in this way: it means that it is something of critical moment to Paul, something that is very much on his mind, something that touches his deepest feelings. He takes his stand on two facts: the fact that he has seen the Lord and the fact that his mission has produced results. In virtue of these facts he claims equality of status with the other Apostles. He claims rights even though in actual practice he refrains from exercising them. In particular there is the matter of sustentation. Paul lays down the principle that the Apostle is entitled to be maintained by those to whom he ministers. The army lives on

¹ In *The Problem of the Epistle to the Galatians*.

the country it conquers. This is in accordance with the procedure laid down by Jesus when He sent out the Disciples during the Ministry. (The abuse of this privilege is implied in the *Didache*, xi ff.) Against this we may set the slight indications that at Jerusalem there was a central fund for the maintenance of the Church personnel there. The tendency seems to have been to replenish this fund by means of tribute paid by other Churches in somewhat the same way that the synagogues of the Diaspora sent their annual tribute to the Temple authorities in Jerusalem. Paul could claim that he stood nearer to the intention of Jesus in this matter.¹

After this long digression about apostolic status, the Apostle returns to the question of meats offered to idols and solves it in his own way. As he sees it, the essential point is not the defence of the abstract principle of pure monotheism but the assertion of the exacting demands of the Christian's fellowship with Christ and His Church. 'Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of demons : ye cannot partake of the table of the Lord, and of the table of demons' (x. 21). There is given in Christianity a relation to Christ so intimate that it can be adequately figured only by the relation between the body and its component limbs. Such an intimacy excludes other fellowships. It is not merely that they are wrong : it is that they are impossible, so long as fellowship with Christ continues to be a reality. It is possible to have one or the other, but not both. In stressing this point Paul emphasises what is the specifically Christian

¹ It may be noted here that ix. 5 breaks the thread of the argument—in characteristic Pauline fashion. Here is something else that Paul is entitled to but does not take. It is interesting to note how the other Christian leaders are named : (1) The other *apostoloi* ; (2) The Lord's Brethren ; (3) Cephas. Why is Cephas singled out from the *apostoloi* ? Is it that he does in fact stand apart—the rival of the blood-kindred of the Lord ? Or is it that he is actually present in Corinth ? Or that special claims are being made for him there ? Or some combination of these possibilities ?

Another interesting point is in ix. 20-23, where Paul deals with the question of what may be called 'missionary tactics'. We may compare and contrast Gal. ii. 14. What criticism is Paul meeting in ix. 20-23 ? Was it being urged, for example, that missionaries of Jewish origin were not free to abandon the Law, whatever might be the case with their converts ? Or that all genuine Apostles strictly observe the Law themselves, whatever concessions they may make to others ?

objection to idolatrous practices, as distinct from the general monotheistic position common to Judaism, Christianity, and—later—Islam. Here as elsewhere Paul, even when accepting the Jewish-Christian conclusion, insists on supplying it with an entirely Christian basis. It is fortunate for us that he chose to do so ; otherwise we might never have had the glorious digression about the Lord's Supper in chapter xi, a passage which seems to be suggested to the Apostle by his previous reflections on the subject of communion.

The Eucharist is discussed in xi. 17-34, and in the course of the discussion Paul gives us the oldest account of the Institution of the Sacrament in existence. We cannot, however, stay to discuss Eucharistic origins : we must rather try to see what Paul was fighting against at Corinth. In this passage he arraigns those who treat the Supper as a jollification. Against these he insists on its connexion with the Passion. The following phrases are significant :—

ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἣ παρεδίδοτο.

εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.

ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι.

τὸν θάνατον τοῦ κυρίου καταγγέλλετε.

Further, he arraigns those who treat it as a *selfish* jollification. Against them he insists on its significance as the Sacrament of the unity of the Church, the Body of Christ. Failure to discern—and respect—this Body and this unity entails judgement. It is the same thing as despising the Church of God.

In all this the fundamental thing is the unity of the Church, the body of Christ, and the real fellowship of believers with Him and with one another in the Church. If we ask who are the people that Paul is criticising here, the kind of answer that suggests itself is that the Church feasts at Corinth were open to censure from two sides. To the devout Jewish-Christian the glaring scandal was that it was not a *kosher* table ; to Paul the most quieting thing was the lack of a true spirit of brotherhood. His whole treatment of the complex issues in these chapters is governed by the conviction that if the spirit of the Church is right, there will be no real difficulty about settling the details of Church life and worship. We must, I think, conclude that the

folk who failed to maintain the true standard were Gentile-Christians, who had carried over into their new life some of the characteristics of the cult meals to which they were accustomed in their pagan days. Paul insists on radical reform, but his reform is to be based not on Jewish dietary rules but on the true nature of the Lord's Supper as determined by its Founder in the circumstances and manner of its foundation. The reformed practice in Corinth will not be nearer to Judaism: it will be nearer to that of Christ 'in the night in which He was betrayed'.

Next comes the answer to a question about what are called 'spiritual gifts' (xii-xiv). Paul begins, as usual, by laying down general principles to serve as a basis for the discussion of the particular case. He does it this time by setting out a series of contrasts: first, between the 'dumb idols' and the God who speaks; next, between the variety of spiritual manifestations and the one God who is behind all of them; third, between the variety of spiritual manifestations and the unity of the Body which they all serve; fourth, between this variety of spiritual gifts and the one supreme principle of the spiritual life, which is love.¹ What Paul is arguing in these contrasts seems to be something like this. Your spiritual life is first, last, and all the time, Christian. This means that it is founded upon God, who is the only source of spiritual power; that it is lived in and for the Church, the Body of Christ; that within the spiritual sphere there is a hierarchy of values, at the head of which stands love. Love is not merely the complete satisfaction of the demand of the Law (Gal. v. 14); it is also the crown and consummation of all spiritual gifts.

Having laid down these foundation principles Paul is now in a position to face the specific issue. It is the phenomenon known as γλωσσολαλία—'speaking with tongues'.

The usual treatment of this part of the Epistle begins by making *glossolalia* a symptom of the exuberant religious enthusiasm of Paul's Corinthian converts, and seeking its psychological roots in the mobile excitable Greek temperament. The principal evidence offered is the εὐοί of the Dionysiac votaries, helped

¹ This fourth contrast is set out in chapter xiii, which is properly understood only when it is held in its context, and studied *along with* chapters xii and xiv.

out by gleanings from the magical papyri. The latter need not detain us long. The complicated mess of alphabetic permutations and combinations, interlarded with battered relics of divine names, which appears in the papyri is the product of perverted ingenuity rather than religious ecstasy. It is not *glossolalia*, whatever else it may be. Nor is the Bacchic *εὐοί*. *Εὐοί* is the cry by whose constant repetition the votaries of the god work themselves up into a frenzy or ecstasy. The shouting is one of the causes of the ecstatic condition, not a result of it. But in the *glossolalia* of the New Testament the falling into the ecstatic state comes first, and the strange utterances are the outward sign of the inward condition. The Spirit falls upon the persons, and they speak with tongues.

Further, it would seem that the cults which tended towards the ecstatic were not native to Greece. That of Dionysus was of Thracian-Phrygian origin, for example. No doubt there were elements in the Greek temperament which made it responsive to this kind of thing, but all the evidence that can be brought forward falls far short of proving that *glossolalia* originated in Corinth. On the contrary, the phenomena described by Paul in I Cor. seem to be akin to those outbursts in the Palestinian Church, of which we read in Acts. These again have their closest analogues in the prophetic ecstasies described in the Old Testament on the one side, and in the accounts of Phrygian Montanism on the other. The most natural place to seek for the origins of *glossolalia* is not Corinth but Jerusalem.

If so, we must go on to ask when it made its way to Corinth. Most commentaries on the Epistle take it almost for granted that it is something of old standing in the community there. It is said that Paul treats the topic as one that will be quite familiar to the Corinthian Christians. The opposite seems to me to be the case. He deals elaborately with it as though it were a new thing about which the Corinthians needed detailed instruction and guidance. Moreover, Paul was eighteen months at Corinth and saw the early growth of the Church. He laid down the lines along which he wished it to develop. If the problem of *glossolalia* had arisen during that time, presumably he would have dealt with it there and then. Indeed, if his exposition

of the Gospel had included this phenomenon at all, doubtless he would have given some kind of instruction about its place in the scheme of Christian values and the importance to be attached to it in comparison with other aspects of the Christian life. The fact that at this late date he has to begin an explanation is evidence that the thing is something of a novelty in the Corinthian Church. And the fact that Paul can thank God that he has done more of it himself than the entire Corinthian community, strongly suggests that the practice has not yet reached any very imposing proportions there, especially in view of the fact that Paul himself does not appear to have gone out of his way to seek experiences of this sort.

I venture, therefore, to think that what the Apostle is dealing with in these chapters is not a surfeit of *glossolalia* at Corinth, but a demand which was being made on the Church to produce this particular fruit of the Spirit. I suggest that the demand came from the leaders of the Cephas party, and was part of the concerted move to instil Palestinian piety and Palestinian orthodoxy into the Corinthian Church. Paul's converts were being told that here was something most important, indeed absolutely essential to the Christian life. Paul had said little or nothing about it when he was with them; what had he to say now? That is the question that is faced and answered in these three chapters, and at the end Paul has made it clear just how important he considers *glossolalia* to be, and just how many things take precedence of it in the Christian life.

Chapter xv introduces a new problem, that of the resurrection, the resurrection of Christ and the resurrection of believers. Once more it turns out that the question is mixed up with the question of Paul's status as an Apostle.

The resurrection of the Lord is vitally important. The Gospel hangs on it. Paul's own status as an Apostle hangs on the fact that he is a witness to the resurrection, the last witness and the least of the Apostles, unworthy of the title because he had been a persecutor of the Church. Yet, having received the title, he claims that he has justified its bestowal by his exertions as a missionary, exertions more strenuous and more prolonged than those of the other Apostles.

There were some in Corinth who did not care for this article of the Christian Faith, just as at Athens there were some who at once dismissed it as absurd, while others preserved an open mind (Acts xvii. 32). Now the dogma of the resurrection is just about the most Jewish thing in the whole Christian Gospel. The resurrection of Jesus was an event that took place in Palestine and was vouched for by Jewish witnesses. The belief in a resurrection was a characteristically Jewish belief, which could be traced back certainly as far as the book of Daniel. If we ask who in Corinth would be likely to question the doctrine, the answer is not far to seek. It was certainly not the followers of Cephas or Paul, the first and last witnesses to the appearances of the Risen Lord. We are left with the Apollonians or those who took the name of Christ as their party name. In any case it is the intelligentsia, under whatever name. For them, no doubt, the immortality of the soul was the sound doctrine, the reasonable and philosophical creed, while the idea of resurrection was crude and barbarous. Moreover, the belief in resurrection involved a cosmic eschatology, a religious philosophy of history, and that, too, was unacceptable to the intelligentsia.

It is again noticeable how Paul in defending the doctrine is at pains to safeguard his own independence. To the resurrection of Jesus he is an independent witness. There are others of course of older standing than himself, but his testimony does not derive from theirs, though theirs may serve to corroborate his. The belief in the resurrection of believers he will defend by arguments of his own, and by the reasonableness of his arguments, and not by any appeal to the authority of the older Apostles, he will convince the doubters in Corinth.

Concerning the collection for the Saints I have little to say, and almost all of it has already been said by Karl Holl.¹ The main point, I think, is that in Jerusalem the contributions of the Gentile Churches were regarded as tribute rather than charity. Paul, at the outset of his 'Foreign Mission' campaigns, had agreed to raise these contributions, and he cannot go back on his promise. But he does elsewhere try his hardest to produce proof, apart from the Jerusalem claim to primacy, that it is a

¹ *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, ii. 58-62.

good thing to bring gifts to the original nucleus of the world-wide Church.

We may now attempt to sum up this rather rambling discourse. The probabilities that emerge, and I do not rate them higher than probabilities, are these :—

(1) At the time when I Cor. was written Paul was engaged in a struggle with agents of Palestinian Jewish Christianity either under the direct leadership or acting in the name of Peter.

(2) This struggle had two aspects. Outwardly it was an attack by the representatives of Palestinian orthodoxy on a number of alleged abuses and laxities in the Corinthian community. Beneath this surface it was an attack on Paul himself, as the person chiefly responsible for Corinth, and a challenge to his status and authority as an Apostle.

(3) This latter fact explains why, wherever Paul finds himself forced to endorse the criticisms of the Cephas party, he is careful to find his own grounds for agreeing with them.

(4) The operations of the Cephas party look very like an attempt to establish in the Gentile churches an authority superior to Paul's, thus going behind the agreement reached at the beginning of the campaign and described in Gal. ii. What were the precise relations between Cephas and his followers at Corinth, and James and the church of Jerusalem, remains an unsolved but fascinating problem.

(5) We may hazard a guess about the nature of the 'Christ party'. It seems to stand at the opposite extreme to the Cephas party. I should be very much inclined to think that they were a group for whom Christ meant something like 'God, freedom, and immortality', where 'God' means a refined philosophical monotheism; 'freedom' means emancipation from the puritanical rigours of Palestinian barbarian authorities into the wider air of self-realisation; and immortality means the sound Greek doctrine as opposed to the crude Jewish notion of the Resurrection. For Paul this kind of thing was a deadly peril, more deadly than the threat to his own status involved in the attacks of the Cephas party. He is forced to fight on two fronts, and his most serious difficulties—and our most difficult problems of exegesis—

arise from that fact. His solution of the difficulties may rank as one of the major triumphs of his career.

Detached Note on the Jewish use of מקום, אתרא, and ΤΟΠΟΣ as designations for places of worship.

The following references and materials may be of interest :—

Sukenik, *Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece*, p. 71, n. 2.

'It is interesting to note that these [the Synagogue] inscriptions almost invariably designate the synagogues by the Hebrew, Aramaic, or Greek words for "place" (τόπος, אתרא, מקום).'

Examples : (References are given to S. Klein's *Jüdisch-Palästinisches Corpus Inscriptionum* and to J. B. Frey's *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum*).

Kafr Bir'im (Klein, p. 8), יהי שלום במקום הזה ובכל מקומות ישראל.

'Alma (Klein, p. 6), יהי שלום על המקום הזה ועל כל מקומות עמו ישראל.

'Ain Dûk (Klein, p. 3), ll. 6 f., [די]הב בהדן אתרה [ק]דישה וגו'.

'Ain Dûk (Na'aran), another inscr., l. 3. בה[דן] אתרה.

Stobi (Sukenik, pp. 79 f., Frey, i. 694), τοὺς μὲν οἴκους τῷ ἁγίῳ τόπῳ κατλ.

El Hammeh (Sukenik, *The Ancient Synagogue of El-Hammeh* p. 65), τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ [τόπῳ . . .

El Hammeh (Sukenik, *op. cit.* p. 69), . . . ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγίου τόπου ἀνενέ[ωσεν τὸ κτίσ]μα τῆς κώνυχης κατλ.

See also S. Krauss, *Synagogale Altertümer*, on the names of the synagogues. The following examples are noteworthy :—

Midrash Tehillim, iv. 3, p. 42, Buber, מקום תפלתו.

Philo, *Quod omn. prob.*, c. 12, εἰς ἱεροὺς . . . τόπους οἱ καλοῦνται συναγωγαί.

In Flacc., c. 7 (§ 49).

Ἅγιος τόπος is used of a synagogue between Gaza and Jaffa (Clermont-Ganneau, *Rec. d'Arch. Or.*, iv. 139, No. 8), and of a synagogue in Antioch (Chrysostom, *adu. Iud.*, i. 5).

Further, Moulton-Milligan, *Vocabulary*, s.v.; Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain*, I, 456-472; L. Robert, *Études Anatoliennes*, p. 65.

We may ask whether there are other traces of the possible use of this idiom in the New Testament. I am strongly inclined to think that Mk. vi. 11 is a case. The two accounts of the 'sacrament of rejection' in Mk. and Q are not perfectly clear about details, but there are indications which suggest that the ceremony is to take place inside the town. This is clearest in Lk. x. 10 (Q); and Mk. vi. 11, taken by itself, is consistent with that. The interpretation will then be that the disciples are to proclaim their message in the synagogue. If they are rejected, they come out of the synagogue (τόπος) into some open space in the town and there perform the ceremony.

Lk. xi. 1 is a possibility; though I do not know of any evidence that the synagogue was particularly used as a place for *private* devotions.

It is possible that the use of τόπος has been extended to cover Christian places of worship in I Cor. i. 2; II Cor. ii. 14; I Thess. i. 8; I Tim. ii. 8. The example given by Robert, mentioned above, is presumably neither Jewish nor Christian.

LES PENSÉES PHILOSOPHIQUES DE DIDEROT.

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PORTÉE ET SIGNIFICATION DES "PENSÉES".

LES "Pensées Philosophiques" sont un petit in-12 publié sans nom d'auteur; elles furent composées en 1746, du vendredi saint au jour de Pâques, si l'on en croit Madame de Vandeul. Diderot les vendit aussitôt à son libraire pour pouvoir prêter cinquante louis à Madame de Puisieux. Elles s'attirèrent d'emblée la faveur des esprits forts. Peut-être parce qu'elles se donnaient pour publiées à La Haye, d'où provenaient tant de brochures suspectes d'hétérodoxie, et qui circulaient en France sous le manteau; peut-être aussi par le titre où l'on retrouvait comme un écho des *Lettres philosophiques* de Voltaire, auquel certains attribuèrent l'ouvrage, alors que d'autres songèrent à La Mettrie. Le mot *philosophique* commence à prendre une valeur nettement symbolique; il sera une des armes les plus sûres du mouvement nouveau qui se dessine par la signification politique qu'il revêt. Le titre faisait encore pressentir qu'il s'agissait d'une réponse aux *Pensées* de Pascal.

Les "Pensées Philosophiques" furent condamnées à être brûlées par le Parlement. Il n'y avait là rien de bien inquiétant ni pour l'auteur ni pour le volume—au contraire, c'était un moyen certain de se recommander auprès des lecteurs. Cette condamnation n'en est pas moins un présage. Le pouvoir a déjà maille à partir avec Diderot. En 1749, lors des poursuites qui conduisirent l'auteur de la *Lettre sur les aveugles* à la prison de Vincennes, il tint à lui faire avouer la paternité de ses "Pensées", dont il lui faisait grief. Diderot fit amende honorable, appela ses pensées "des intempérances d'esprit qui me

sont échappées ”,¹ et se promet de ne plus publier ses ouvrages dangereux. Aussi les plus pures créations de son esprit ne furent-elles connues que par un cénacle. Mais ce n'est pas uniquement par circonspection, ni à la suite d'un avertissement sérieux, qu'il agit de la sorte ; c'est aussi, dans une certaine mesure, par principe. Déjà l'épigraphe des “ Pensées ” nous éclaire sur son attitude. *Quis leget haec ?* Et Diderot ajoute : “ J'écris de Dieu ; je compte sur peu de lecteurs, et n'aspire qu'à quelques suffrages ”. Il écrit pour une élite philosophique, afin de rendre son action plus efficace. Le rayonnement de sa pensée se fera de proche en proche. Jamais il n'a songé à publier des pamphlets à gros tirage comme Voltaire. S'il a vulgarisé, c'est par l'Encyclopédie. Et pour souscrire à l'Encyclopédie il fallait trouver 750 livres.

Aux yeux de ses contemporains Diderot est avant tout le directeur de l'Encyclopédie ; mais plus même que la *Lettre sur les aveugles*, au sujet abstrus, aux conclusions trop hardies, les “ Pensées ” feront sa réputation d'écrivain et de philosophe, et deviendront le bréviaire d'une première génération de néo-phytes. Par elles Diderot marque sa place. Le public n'était pas tellement en retard que le pensait Diderot ; il sut apprécier l'opuscule qui répondait à un besoin. Vers le milieu du siècle, c'était surtout de questions métaphysiques qu'on se préoccupait ; et le retentissement des “ Pensées ” s'explique, contrairement à ce que l'on pourrait croire, par la banalité même de certaines des idées qui y sont contenues, si l'on replace l'ouvrage dans l'histoire des idées au XVIII^e siècle pour l'apprécier à sa juste valeur historique.²

Mais, tout en résumant un courant qui se reflète dans la littérature clandestine, où elles ont leur racine³ et dont elles

¹ Dans une lettre datée du 13 août 1749, écrite à Vincennes, conservée à la Bibliothèque Nationale (Nouvelles acquisitions françaises, 1311).

² Pour des renseignements sur l'ambiance littéraire de Diderot dans cette première partie de sa vie d'écrivain et sur les *Pensées* en général il y aurait avantage à consulter : Franco Venturi, *Jeunesse de Diderot* (de 1713 à 1753), traduit de l'italien par Juliette Bertrand, Paris, Albert Skira, 1939.

³ Cf. Ira O. Wade, *The Clandestine Organization and Diffusion of Philosophic Ideas in France from 1700 to 1750*, Princeton University Press ; and Humphrey Milford : Oxford University Press, 1938. Voir en particulier, pp. 99, 262, 274, 275.

deviendront un symbole, les " Pensées " se séparent des autres productions du même genre : elles furent écrites d'un seul jet ; elles ont la chaleur d'une improvisation, l'effervescence qui est signe de vie profonde. C'est par ce caractère, joint aux raisons du moment, que s'expliquent leur efficacité et leur séduction. Le succès des " Pensées " vient donc d'une rencontre heureuse entre un état d'esprit très général et un tempérament d'auteur. Diderot reflète les tendances d'une nouvelle génération philosophique qui ne marche pas sous la houlette de Voltaire. Il s'oriente vers le naturalisme et le matérialisme ; il humanise la conception du " philosophe " idéal du siècle ; surtout il revendique les droits du sentiment. Rien ne servira mieux à marquer ces différences profondes que les annotations faites par Voltaire à deux reprises sur des exemplaires différents des " Pensées ".¹ On pourrait également opposer le *Traité de métaphysique* (1734), par exemple, aux pensées de Diderot qui y correspondent.

Pour bien saisir l'originalité des " Pensées ", il faut d'abord préciser les rapports de Diderot avec Shaftesbury, qu'il venait de traduire, sous l'empire duquel il se trouvait à cette date, et dont l'empreinte se retrouve en plusieurs endroits. Pour Diderot, Shaftesbury, son initiateur à la vie philosophique, est une âme soeur. Rien de moins étrange à cette époque qu'un Diderot, qui connaissait bien l'anglais, se tournât vers un auteur anglais pour y chercher son inspiration. Mais le choix de Shaftesbury est important parce que Shaftesbury annonce une orientation nouvelle. Il se distingue en effet des autres déistes anglais par l'insistance qu'il met sur le facteur moral. " Point de vertu sans religion ; point de bonheur sans vertu. " ² Le principal moyen d'être heureux " c'est d'avoir les affections sociales entières et énergiques ",³ de faire appel aux sentiments naturels ; et par suite il faut condamner l'ascétisme et la persécution religieuse. La vertu est naturelle, " la conscience religieuse suppose donc la conscience naturelle et morale ".⁴

¹ Voir L. N. Torrey, Voltaire's reaction to Diderot, *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 1935, pp. 1107-1143.

² *Œuvres complètes de Diderot*, éditées par J. Assézat, Garnier, t. I, pp. 10 et 12.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 78. Cf. *Pensée VI*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

On peut donc séparer la vertu de la religion ! Telle était la conclusion de l'*Essai sur le mérite et la vertu*, et sur ces points les *Pensées Philosophiques* la renforcent. Par certains côtés les "Pensées" sont le prolongement des notes personnelles que Diderot a ajoutées à sa traduction de Shaftesbury. Il est clair que Diderot a éprouvé une grande admiration pour Shaftesbury, et a tâché d'identifier sa pensée à la sienne. Souvent les jeunes esprits à leurs débuts élisent ainsi un maître pour les guider, dont ils se rapprochent le plus possible. C'est pourquoi, pour l'esprit général comme pour les exemples particuliers, Diderot s'est tourné vers le déiste anglais qu'il nomme expressément une fois, mais qu'il a plagié à plusieurs reprises. Plus tard cependant, les divergences s'affirment ; elles proviennent de différences dans le tempérament.

Le fond des "Pensées" est plus substantiel qu'on ne le pense. Souvent, surtout pour des raisons de polémique, on y a vu des contradictions : des idées déistes à côté d'une pensée athée, et même une profession de foi catholique qui est là pour dérouter ceux qui ne sont pas avertis. Ne s'est-on pas mépris sur le sens profond de l'œuvre, sur l'unité foncière d'une pensée à aspects contradictoires ? Car il y a un plan, une suite dans les idées. L'auteur commence par réhabiliter les passions (I-V) ; il nous montre l'effet néfaste de l'enthousiasme religieux, de l'ascétisme, de la superstition plus injurieuse à Dieu que l'athéisme (VI-XII) ; l'athée n'est pas aisément réfuté par le superstitieux, fût-il Pascal ; plus facilement par le déiste muni des conclusions de la physique expérimentale (XIII-XIX) ; Dieu est démontré par l'existence d'un être pensant et l'harmonie de la nature (XX) ; les athées se fondent sur l'argument lucrétien du hasard (XXI) ; se divisent en trois classes (XXII) ; mais le déisme a l'avantage sur l'athéisme et le scepticisme (XXIII) ; le scepticisme, cependant, est nécessaire (XXIV-XL) ; seul l'enthousiaste croit aux miracles qui répugnent à tout esprit critique (XLI, XLII, XLVI-LIII) ; le Christianisme, comme toute autre religion, ne s'est pas affermi sans danger pour l'état ; attitude et sagesse de l'Empereur Julien (XLIII) ; critique des Écritures et doutes sur leur caractère sacré (XLIV, XLV, LX) ; apologie de la raison critique (LIV-LVII, LXI), avec une profession

de foi catholique (LVIII). Dans la dernière pensée l'auteur prône la Religion naturelle, conclusion logique de l'ouvrage.¹

Au premier abord, ces idées semblent bien proches de celles de Shaftesbury et du déisme anglais. Dans le grand débat métaphysique qui marque une crise de la conscience européenne au XVIII^e siècle, Bayle n'avait-il pas signalé le combat entre les *rationaux* et les *religioneux*?² Diderot prend effectivement parti contre les dévots, les fanatiques, tous les philosophes du Christianisme. Il proclame les droits de la raison et de la critique, il sape le christianisme par son point faible : les miracles. Il défend le paganisme, et entreprend une exégèse des livres saints qui paraît bien banale aujourd'hui. Il se fait l'apôtre d'un certain scepticisme qui est celui du siècle entier. "Le scepticisme est le premier pas vers la vérité", écrit-il ; sur son lit de mort, ses dernières paroles seront encore : "Le premier pas vers la philosophie, c'est l'incrédulité". Seuls le tour concis et l'allure provocante reviendraient en propre à Diderot.

C'est se méprendre étrangement sur l'originalité des "Pensées". Dès les premiers mots il y règne un accent nouveau, un ton emporté, parfois une indignation vive et une violence à peine contenue. C'est avec une puissance nouvelle qu'il exalte la passion,—l'enthousiasme, le génie, la nature, comme il l'appelle ailleurs—et qu'il intrônise une nouvelle divinité utile pour la polémique des lumières, facteur dont il faudra désormais tenir compte, car c'est une force qui agit. La Passion, qui vaut par ce qu'elle a de spontané, d'irréfléchi, est à dresser en face d'une certaine aridité intellectuelle, de la raison purement cartésienne. Cette force de la nature est un principe de connaissance fécond, un moyen d'enquête précieux, une force créatrice que rien ne saurait égaler. Par ce retour à la Nature Diderot se dresse contre Pascal, plus carrément que Voltaire dans ses *Remarques sur les Pensées de M. Pascal*. Cet enthousiasme se retrouve chez les dévots, les fanatiques religieux, où

¹ On trouvera une analyse plus complète dans Jean Pomimier, *Diderot avant Vincennes*, Boivin & Cie, 1939, pp. 29-38.

² Paul Hazard, *La crise de la conscience européenne (1680-1715)*, Boivin & Cie, 1935.

il n'est pas à dédaigner, si perversi qu'il soit ; mais le religionnaire a faussé le vrai enthousiasme.

Dans cette apologie des passions, Diderot va beaucoup plus loin que Shaftesbury ; le feu qui l'anime quand il en parle lui donne une résonnance unique. La revendication des droits de la passion est un vieux thème qu'il a su rajeunir : elle est d'une importance capitale pour comprendre les tendances nouvelles à son époque et pour mieux pénétrer la personnalité de Diderot lui-même. Diderot est un penseur original dans la mesure où il a suivi son inspiration, qui a sa source dans son être intime. Il pense ce qu'il sent être vrai ; sa dialectique est au service de son tempérament ; c'est ce qui a fait de lui un des plus grands philosophes français de son temps. Relevons l'expression lyrique de cette synthèse de son apologie de la passion et de l'image tirée de la nature qu'il en donne :

“ Les Passions amorties dégradent les hommes extraordinaires. La contrainte anéantit la grandeur & l'énergie de la nature. Voyez cet arbre ; c'est au luxe de ses branches que vous devez la fraîcheur & l'étendue de ses ombres : vous en jouirez jusqu'à ce que l'hiver vienne le dépouiller de sa chevelure. Plus d'excellence en Poésie, en Peinture, en Musique, lorsque la superstition aura fait sur le tempérament l'ouvrage de la vieillesse.”

Cette expression symbolique nous offre les prémices d'une sensibilité rare.

Le déisme de Diderot n'est pas essentiellement rationnel. Il diffère de celui de Rousseau, qui est une profession de foi ; il ne connaît pas le Dieu rémunérateur et vengeur de Voltaire. Il côtoie le panthéisme, tant la nature y joue un grand rôle.

“ Les hommes ont banni la Divinité d'entr'eux ; ils l'ont réléguée dans un Sanctuaire ; les murs d'un temple bornent sa vue ; elle n'existe point au-delà. Insensés que vous êtes ; détruisez ces enceintes qui rétrécissent vos idées, élargissez Dieu : voyez-le par-tout où il est, ou dites qu'il n'est point,”

s'écrie-t-il avec sincérité et avec fougue. La vie est la seule preuve valable de l'existence de Dieu. Il avance une preuve

qu'il jugera insuffisante dans *La Promenade du Sceptique* et la *Lettre sur les aveugles*,—celle de l'ordre et de la perfection de l'univers, parce qu'elle lui semble *naturelle*,—en se fondant sur les conclusions d'un Nieuwentit. "C'est à la connaissance de la Nature qu'il était réservé de faire de vrais déistes." Une aile de papillon, un œil de ciron suffisent.

On a coutume de signaler l'évolution de sa pensée, qui débute par un déisme optimiste pour aboutir au matérialisme des derniers jours. Il y a là, croyons-nous, une erreur. Dès sa première œuvre, nous trouvons dans sa pensée coexistence de tendances diverses qui s'affirment dans des sens différents et sur des plans différents, sans qu'il y ait contradiction profonde. Dans un certain sens Diderot restera toujours déiste, malgré ses avatars, et non uniquement pour désarmer le pouvoir. Ainsi le déisme de Diderot, comme son athéisme, ne vaut que dans la mesure où il est une hypothèse susceptible de fournir une explication satisfaisante de la nature. Il est perçu par l'enthousiasme avant de se fonder sur la raison.

Déjà dans les "Pensées", l'argument de l'athée prend une certaine valeur ; il n'est pas réfuté sur le plan intellectuel ; il s'appuie sur un calcul des probabilités pour faire ressortir la toute puissance du hasard ; cette idée qui remonte à l'antiquité sera approfondie par la suite ; il reste acquis, cependant, que nous trouvons ici l'expression première d'une des théories les plus chères à Diderot, et les plus fécondes dans le domaine scientifique : celle de l'union intime de la matière et du mouvement. Alors que Voltaire et Rousseau croiront voir dans le mouvement une des preuves les mieux fondées de l'existence de Dieu, Diderot rejettera entièrement cette hypothèse, et par une entente divinatrice des forces naturelles et de la vie elle-même, pour des motifs d'ordre philosophique et sentimental, il se fera le précurseur du transformisme.

Les "Pensées" nous permettent encore de mieux caractériser la personnalité de Diderot. Pour bien apprécier un talent, il faut le prendre à ses débuts, comme l'enseignait Sainte-Beuve. La personnalité de Diderot ne laisse pas de nous intéresser, car c'est par elle autant que par ses œuvres qu'il a agi sur son époque, et c'est elle qu'il a su imprimer à ses œuvres

les plus durables. Nous la retrouvons ici dans toute sa fraîcheur, dans sa jeunesse impétueuse et son élan vital. Le préambule, qui mérita la raillerie de Palissot, ainsi que de nombreuses pensées à allure personnelle, fourniront une clé utile de son caractère et de son génie primesautier ; ses sautes d'humeur sont bien reflétées par ses boutades. De plus, les " Pensées " ont le grand mérite de nous offrir la formule littéraire de son tempérament : le dialogue. C'est parce qu'on n'a pas vu que les " Pensées " sont en réalité un dialogue où il ne manque que le nom des interlocuteurs, qu'on n'a guère compris le sens profond du livre. Les " Pensées " sont pour une bonne part une sorte de conversation entre un athée, un superstitieux et un déiste où les arguments du chrétien sont retournés contre lui, où l'athée n'y trouve pas son compte et où le déiste seul a l'avantage, parce qu'il s'appuie sur la nature et la passion bien comprise. C'est ainsi qu'il faut expliquer le manque de composition apparente, le passage brusque d'un point de vue à un autre ; et aussi l'unité fondamentale. Diderot laisse parler les différents interlocuteurs pour approfondir sa pensée, pour éviter de construire un système dogmatique, et partir en quête de découvertes nouvelles. Il a trouvé la voie qui lui permettra de créer. Pour aller jusqu'au bout de sa pensée et faire œuvre de penseur original, il lui faut se dédoubler. Ses grandes créations, où il a mis le meilleur de lui-même : ses idées et son inspiration, sa dialectique et son cœur ardent,—sont tous des entretiens. Son art, cet intime mélange d'une idée avec l'élément passionnel où elle a sa racine, Diderot l'a reporté dans ses entretiens, où son porte-parole est souvent plus audacieux que lui, et où les conclusions ne peuvent être que provisoires. La vie qui anime ses pensées en a fait des idées-force. L'action des Encyclopédistes sera efficace parce qu'ils auront trouvé un chef capable de la diriger.

Car avec Diderot l'idée commence à valoir par sa force persuasive, son tour concret et sa vivacité. Aucun voile ne vient s'entremettre entre ce qu'il sent et ce qu'il pense. Il écrit à l'emporte-pièce, avec violence s'il est besoin. Être philosophe, ce n'est plus se prosterner exclusivement devant l'autel de la Raison, mais c'est associer la Nature à son culte

et l'opposer à la Superstition ; être philosophe c'est exalter le génie humain.¹

Diderot a agi par son délire philosophique, sa ferveur, son lancinant appel aux jeunes. Qu'importe les faiblesses, les déchets de toute espèce, si l'on a pu un jour, à son heure, s'exprimer pleinement ! Diderot a joui de sa vie par les consolations matérielles qu'elle pouvait lui offrir, par son action sur son entourage, mais aussi par l'exercice de sa pensée. " Mes pensées, ce sont mes catins ", a-t-il déclaré résolument à la première page du *Neveu de Rameau*. A ses meilleurs moments il a su nous donner une de ses conversations épurées comme celles des Anciens, mais plus poignante encore, parce que plus humaine et moins mesurée, où il a mis sa pensée profonde et son âme. " La véritable logique est celle du cœur. " C'est une vérité qu'il a su reconnaître, et par cette affirmation renouvelée s'ouvre un nouvel horizon philosophique.

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LA PUBLICATION DES " PENSÉES ".

Étude critique du texte des diverses éditions.

Les " Pensées Philosophiques " furent publiées sans nom d'éditeur. L'arrêt du Parlement, en date du 7 juillet 1746, par lequel elles furent condamnées à être brûlées (en effigie fort heureusement) a été reproduit dans *Le Contrôleur du Parnasse*.² Le nom de l'éditeur nous est connu grâce aux papiers conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale.³ Laurent Durand, (associé avec Briasson, David l'aîné et Le Breton pour la publication de l'Encyclopédie), avait déjà publié *l'Essai sur le mérite et la vertu*. C'était un libraire de la rue St.-Jacques ; il avait comme enseignes : A Saint Landry ; à Saint Landry et au Griffon.⁴ Lorsque Diderot fut incarcéré au donjon de

¹ Jean Thomas, *L'humanisme de Diderot*, deuxième édition revue et augmentée, Paris, Société d'Édition " Les Belles-Lettres ", 1938.

² Amsterdam, 1748, VIII, p. 311 et seqq. Les " Pensées " furent condamnées en même temps que l' " Histoire naturelle de l'âme ", premier ouvrage de La Mettrie.

³ Nouvelles acquisitions françaises, 1311.

⁴ Il y avait aussi, rue St.-Jacques un certain P. E. G. Durand, associé ou dépositaire d'une maison de La Haye. Cf. *Gallia Typographica*, par G. Lepreux, t. I.

Vincennes, Durand eut hâte de le faire élargir et jugea bon d'avouer ce qu'il savait, tant sur l'auteur que sur l'imprimeur des ouvrages incriminés. Voici ce qu'il dit à propos des "Pensées Philosophiques": "Qu'en mil sept cent quarante six le Manuscrit des Pensées Philosophiques lui a été remis par le Sr Diderot à l'effet de le faire imprimer, que luy déclarant l'a donné au Sr de l'Epine Imprimeur, de laquelle Edition il n'y a eû que douze exemplaires donnés en present, et le Restant a été brulé par luy Declarant".¹

Il est fort peu probable qu'un manuscrit aussi dangereux pour son détenteur ait été conservé. Nous ne connaissons aucune copie manuscrite des "Pensées".² L'édition originale a donc un intérêt de tout premier ordre. Durant déclare en avoir brûlé tous les exemplaires sauf douze. Il n'en est rien, car on en retrouve dans la plupart des grandes bibliothèques. Nous pensons que c'est encore Durand qui a fait imprimer les rééditions *P2*,³ *P3*,⁴ et peut-être *P4* à moins qu'il ne s'agisse d'une contrefaçon due à une maison rivale; *P3* et *P4* ont dû être imprimées clandestinement; en tout cas Durand a pris la précaution d'inscrire sur la page de titre: *Aux Indes, Chez Bedihuldgemale*. C'est ainsi qu'on bernait un pouvoir tyrannique, mais faible.

* * * *

Le texte de la première édition est celui qu'il faut prendre pour base; c'est le seul, semble-t-il, qui ait la consécration de l'auteur. Après avoir dépouillé le texte de toutes les éditions des "Pensées" que nous ayons pu retrouver, nous pouvons affirmer qu'il n'y a pas une seule variante dont on puisse dire avec quelque justification: voici une correction voulue par l'auteur. Nous aimerions savoir si Diderot en a corrigé les épreuves. Il y a eu plusieurs tirages de cette édition. M.

¹ Déclaration datée du 1er août 1749 (B.N. Nouv. Acq. Franç. 1311, feuillet no. 10).

² Rien dans la liste des documents inédits conservés dans la famille de Diderot ne semble se rapporter aux "Pensées Philosophiques". Cf. Hubert Gillot, *Denis Diderot*, G. Courville, 1937, pp. 319-323.

³ Voir la liste des éditions des "Pensées", p. 136 et seqq.

⁴ Cf. les ornements typographiques, entre autres raisons.

Tchemerzine a signalé un premier tirage rare qui comporterait des erreurs d'imposition aux pages 31-34, 43-46. Signalons à notre tour aux amateurs de curiosités bibliographiques un premier état du texte qui nous est fourni par l'exemplaire *P*.¹ A la page 3 (signature Aij) et à la page 93 (au verso de Hij), *P* donne des leçons fautives que ne comporte pas le texte définitif de la première édition. On lit *en France pour enfance* et *sédition* pour *séduction*. Un examen quelque peu attentif de la typographie de la page 3 de *P* et de *PI*, montrera que nous avons affaire dans le premier cas à une épreuve, et que par la suite la page entière a été refaite par l'imprimeur. Pourquoi l'astérique ? Pourquoi fallait-il pouvoir distinguer ces pages ? Avait-on déjà procédé au tirage de quelques exemplaires et fallait-il pouvoir reconnaître un stock devenu inutile ? S'agirait-il par hasard d'une correction d'auteur ? Il est plus vraisemblable que nous sommes en présence d'une correction faite par l'éditeur ou l'imprimeur lui-même. Nous savons par ailleurs que Diderot ne s'est pas intéressé à la publication de ses ouvrages. L'exemplaire *P* de la Bibliothèque Nationale est peut-être unique ; il est en tout cas incomplet, car manquent le frontispice et la table. Un certain mystère plane toujours autour de ce premier tirage. *PI* est remarquablement exempt de fautes d'impression ; nous avons relevé quelques coquilles : *semblent* pour *semblant* (XXII), *fâchera* (XVI), *Dieu t'entends* (XXVI), et *sur les Alliés* (XLVI) devrait peut-être être en italiques ; quelques petites négligences dans les citations qui sont peut-être de Diderot ; une ou deux lettres tombées (" l " dans *élève*, XXVI).

* * * *

Nous avons dépouillé les éditions parues du vivant de Diderot pour voir si celui-ci n'avait pas apporté quelques modifications à son texte. L'étude attentive des variantes que nous reproduisons plus loin montre que toutes les éditions successives remontent directement ou indirectement à *PI*. Toutes présentent

¹ B.N. R. 13213. C'est le seul exemplaire des " Pensées Philosophiques " qui soit mis à la disposition du grand public ; alors que deux autres exemplaires —texte *PI*—qui n'ont pas le même intérêt, sont consignés à la Réserve et en Enfer.

de menues leçons fautives que ne connaît pas *P1*. Toutes les altérations peuvent s'expliquer par des corrections d'éditeur ou des bévues d'imprimeur. Quelques-unes des coquilles de *P1* se retrouvent dans la plupart des éditions ultérieures (cf. *Dieu t'entends*, XXVI). *P2* témoigne d'une impression hâtive. A côté des leçons toutes fautives que l'on trouvera dans les *Variantes*, on lit : *quelqueluns* (XXII), *ranonte* (LIV), *motrs pour morts* (LV), etc.

P3 suit *P1* de très près. Il remplace cependant *et* par une virgule à deux reprises (IV, d'accord avec *P4* ; XX), il donne : *que vous me disiez* pour *dissiez* (XXI), *ce miracle* pour *le miracle* (LIII), et partage avec *P4* les leçons fautives suivantes : *dans le dévot* (omet même) (XI), *l'intelligence* (XX), *il est vrai* pour *est-il vrai* (XXV), *Moïse et les continuateurs* (XLV), *et même de cette certitude* (LII).

Mais *P4* comporte de nombreuses négligences que *P3* ne connaît pas, comme par exemple : *debonté* (VII) ; *on me les plantes* ; *je ne l'entend pas, dignorer* (XXIV) ; *les esprits fort du siècle* (XLIX) ; *le Juifs, des secte* (LXI). Nous croyons donc que *P3* a servi de base à *P4*.

K reproduit *P1* assez exactement ; on y trouve cependant certaines coquilles : *Vas, m'a-t-il dit* (XLIX), il y a eu *de Fana-tiques* (LV), *pancha* (LXI). Comme les "Pensées" ont été ajoutées à la suite d'un autre texte, il a fallu apporter une retouche au préambule (voir p. 141). *K* est certainement la moins imparfaite des éditions postérieures à *P1*, mais rien ne permet de penser que ce texte ait été revu par l'auteur ; il reproduit par exemple la bévue de *P1* : *Dieu t'entens, & tu ments* (XXVI). L'étude des variantes de *K* ne vient donc pas appuyer l'hypothèse de M. Venturi selon laquelle Diderot a eu la main à cette édition et a contribué le commentaire critique qu'on y retrouve, ni les conclusions de M. Jean Marchand.¹

C est une assez bonne édition qui possède quelques leçons suspectes (XVIII, XLV, XLIX d'accord avec *D*, LIV, LVI, LVIII), quelques omissions (VII, XLIX), de menues inexacti-

¹ "Une édition subreptrice des *Maximes* de La Rochefoucauld, ou Diderot contrefacteur," *Bulletin du Bibliophile et du Bibliothécaire*, série de guerre, No. 4, 1940.

tudes (XXXII, etc.), et une leçon certainement erronée (*elle ne peut choquer*, XV).¹

Et est une édition de contrebande ; les " Pensées " sont précédées d'un avant-propos et suivies d'une *Épître philosophique à un Philosophe*, qui ne sont pas de Diderot. On y lit : *dans ces cahots* (VII, d'accord avec *P2*), *de ses raisonnements* (XX, d'accord avec *C*), *que vous me disiez* (XXI, d'accord avec *P3*), *aucun de ses arrangements* (XXI), *un honneur pour un bonheur* (XXXVII). *Et* a dû servir de base à *D*. Les trois exemples suivants suffiront à justifier cette conclusion : *Et* et *D* sont seuls à omettre *morte* (XXII), à remplacer *comme ils s'y entendoient* par *comme s'ils y entendoient* (XLV), *ure-retur* par *uteretur* (LI). Il y a de nombreux points de ressemblance entre *C*, *Et* et *D* qui s'expliquent peut-être du fait que ces trois éditions ont été publiées à Amsterdam. Mais il est certain que chacune d'elles offre des leçons individuelles ; il faut donc que les éditeurs aient eu à leur disposition un exemplaire de *P1*. *G* offre quelques leçons individuelles : *ces preuves satisfaisantes* (XVIII), *soupçonne point d'avoir écrit* (XLV), *totius auguris, admodum* (LI), *que vous savez* (LVI, omet *en*), mais elle concorde le plus souvent avec une ou plusieurs des éditions antérieures. *Et*, *D* et *G* contiennent des œuvres qui ne sont pas de Diderot et n'ont pu avoir été publiées avec la participation de l'auteur.

* * * *

La déclaration de la guerre en septembre 1939 a rendu impossible l'examen de l'édition de Londres, 1773, in-12 où l'on a joint le *Vrai Philosophe* ; 77 pp. de texte et 12 pp. de tables. Il s'en trouve un exemplaire à la Bibliothèque de Versailles et un autre à la Bibliothèque Municipale de Nantes (cote : 61. 037).

Indiquons également quatre éditions que nous n'avons pu retrouver :

¹ Diderot n'a donc pas revu le texte de *C*. Est-il davantage responsable des variantes que l'on y trouve de l'*Entretien d'un Philosophe avec Madame la Duchesse de **** qui fait suite aux " Pensées " ? Lire, cependant, J.-V. Johansson, *Études sur Denis Diderot*, Göteborg, 1927, pp. 130-140.

1. *Etrennes aux esprits forts*, Londres, Chez M. M. Rey (sans doute Amsterdam), 1757, in-12. Ce volume contiendrait une *Épître philosophique en vers à un philosophe*. Il a été signalé par A. A. Barbier, *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes*; par R. Kassner, *Denis Diderot*, 1906; par Belin, Brière et Assézat dans leurs éditions des œuvres de Diderot. Par contre M. Tchemerzine n'en fait pas mention dans sa *Bibliographie*.

2. Dans *La France littéraire ou Dictionnaire bibliographique* . . . par J.-M. Quérard, t. II, 1828, on lit : “ *La Biographie universelle* en cite une édition de 1746 sous le même titre ‘*Etrennes aux Esprits-Forts*’, et elle ajoute que cette réimpression des *Pensées philosophiques* fut attribuée à Voltaire comme un de ses ouvrages.”

3. Une édition des *Pensées philosophiques* avec la date 17008 [sic] relevée par Brière—“*Pensées philosophiques*”, Londres, 17008—qui ajoute que l'exemplaire qu'il avait examiné contenait des notes qui ne sont point de Diderot.

4. *L'Apocalypse de la raison*. Tome I et peut-être unique, An X, s. 1, in-8, 103 pp. R. Kassner et M. Tchemerzine donnent la date 1802, alors que Barbier, qui est leur source commune, a indiqué 1800.

Il est peu probable que ces éditions nous apportent des modifications acceptables du texte. Il s'agit évidemment d'éditions analogues à *P2*, *P3*, *P4* ou *Et*. On peut même se demander si elles existent. Des recherches faites dans les principales bibliothèques ne les ont pas mises en lumière. La plupart des critiques qui ont fait allusion à ces éditions se sont bornés à transcrire des renseignements puisés dans le *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes* de Barbier, qu'il convient de consulter avec quelque méfiance. M. Tchemerzine n'a pas signalé *Etrennes aux Esprits Forts*. A la Bibliothèque Nationale on met en cause l'existence de *L'Apocalypse de la raison*. Nous croyons qu'il est prudent de s'abstenir de porter un jugement catégorique en cette matière. Il s'agit le plus souvent de petits in-12 ou même in-16 qui se perdent facilement, mais que le hasard des recherches peut fort bien nous livrer. La Bibliothèque Nationale elle-même recèle peut-être des éditions des *Pensées philosophiques* qui ne

figurent pas dans ses catalogues. La liste des ouvrages sous la rubrique *Diderot* est certainement à refaire. *P4* (signalé par Barbier) et *P3* (inconnu jusqu'à ce jour) nous ont été révélé par l'ancien catalogue photographique des ouvrages anonymes, qui est lui-même incomplet.

* * * *

Les éditions des œuvres complètes publiées après la mort de Diderot ont été collationnées. Naigeon nous fournit un texte honnête, fondé sur *P1* dont il corrige la plupart des citations.¹ Les variantes de *N* sont sans grand intérêt. Signalons quelques corrections qui sont peut-être de l'éditeur : *ses prédécesseurs* (XLIV, déjà dans *G*) ; *dans le dessin* (XLIV) ; *Dieu t'entend* (XXVI). Naigeon avait déjà donné un extrait des " Pensées " dans *l'Encyclopédie Méthodique* où il avait corrigé certaines fautes (et fait accorder les participes passés), mais où il avait également introduit des erreurs que l'on retrouvera dans notre liste. *B* reproduit *N*, mais imparfaitement. *Br* suit *N*, tout en conservant certaines des leçons individuelles de *B*. Assézat, qui nous a donné la dernière édition dite complète des *Œuvres* de Diderot, et qui a critiqué le travail de ses prédécesseurs, s'inspire très certainement de *Br* dont il reproduit les leçons fautives, les notes et les références inexacts. Nous lui reprochons d'avoir accordé une confiance injustifiée à ses prédécesseurs, d'avoir pris sur lui de faire certaines corrections gratuites (IX, XXXVIII, XLII, XLIV), sans s'être reporté à l'édition originale comme il veut nous le laisser croire. A ce propos nos conclusions viennent renforcer celles de M. Johansson.²

X est un petit volume sans prétentions. Il transcrit *P1* qu'il modernise, qu'il corrige parfois selon *A* (exception faite pour les participes passés) et auquel il apporte plusieurs altérations sans autorité.

Y est une édition de luxe ornée de compositions originales gravées sur bois ; la typographie est excellente ; le plus souvent

¹ Mais ni lui ni ses successeurs n'ont repéré la citation de Tite-Live (XLIX) qui, elle aussi, aurait pu être corrigée.

² *Op cit.*, p. 152 et seqq. Une édition critique des *Œuvres complètes* de Diderot serait à entreprendre. Il conviendrait de commencer par les ouvrages pour lesquels les inédits détenus par la famille de Diderot ne peuvent être d'aucun service.

la graphie de *Pl* est respectée, mais l'éditeur corrige le texte selon *A* (sauf pour *XLII*) dont il reproduit les erreurs.

L'éditeur anonyme de *R* nous annonce dans sa notice préliminaire qu'il a reproduit le texte de l'édition originale. En fait il suit d'assez près le texte de *A*, dont il reproduit certaines leçons assurément fautives (pensée *IX*, etc.), et quelques corrections d'éditeur. Par ailleurs *R* comporte plusieurs omissions de mots (*XX*, *XLV*, *LVII*, *LX*) et autres négligences (*XI*, *XXIV*, *XLIII*, *XLVII*, *XLIX*, *LI*), ainsi que des altérations dont l'avantage n'est pas évident (Voir pensées *XXIV*, *XXV*, *XXXIX*, *XLVII*, *XLIX*, *LIV*). *R* et *Y* se rencontrent pour faire le même contresens à la pensée *XLVI*.

* * * *

Nous avons vu de près les éditions *H*, *F* et *I* pour voir si le texte de Diderot avait été respecté.

H et *F* présentent le même texte, avec les mêmes omissions. Nous en concluons que Formey avait devant les yeux le texte légèrement inexact de Polier de Bottens.

Dans *I* les pensées 32, 37, 39, 49, 52, 53 et 54 manquent et par conséquent ne sont pas réfutées.¹ *I* suit *P3* auquel il ajoute des fautes de toute espèce : *tu prend, tu a* (*XV*) ; sa ponctuation et son orthographe (*Afriquins*) sont bien défectueuses.

* * * *

Nous croyons donc qu'une édition critique des *Pensées philosophiques* s'impose. Elle devra reproduire le texte de l'édition princeps *Pl*, en corrigeant toutefois certaines fautes grossières : *fâchera* (*XV*), *semblent* (*XXII*), *e ève* (*XXVI*), *Dieu t'entends* (*XXVI*), *suppo ition* qui se trouve seulement dans l'exemplaire de la Réserve à la Bibliothèque Nationale (p. 44, l. 1).

* * * * *

ÉDITIONS DES "PENSÉES PHILOSOPHIQUES"

avec quelques précisions bibliographiques.

Nous indiquons à gauche les abréviations qui servent à désigner les différentes éditions que nous avons collationnées.

¹ Barbier, *op. cit.*, s'est trompé dans la numérotation de ces pensées.

P. PENSÉES/ PHILOSOPHIQUES./ *Piscis hic non est omnium.*/ A LA HAYE,/ Aux dépens de la Compagnie./ M.DCC.XLVI.

in-12 de (1) p. tit., 136 pp. Exemplaire peut-être unique : B.N. R. 13213. Signatures : A8, B4 + C8, D4 + E8, F4 + G8, H4 + I8, K4 + L8.

P1. PENSÉES/ PHILOSOPHIQUES./ *Piscis hic non est omnium.*/ A LA HAYE,/ Aux dépens de la Compagnie./ M.DCC.XLVI.

in-12 de (2) ff. frontispice et tit., 136 pp., (6) ff. table des matières. Exemplaires à la Bibliothèque Nationale [Rés. R. 2083 ; Enfer. 65 (1)], à l'Arsenal, à la Bibliothèque Mazarine, au British Museum, etc.

Signatures distinctes de celles de P : *Aij et *Hij qui remplacent Aij et Hij respectivement ; M4 + N2, sont les signatures pour les (6) ff. de table. Le mot-souche au verso de L8 fait défaut.

Le frontispice est une vignette non signée dans le genre d'Eisen : la Vérité ôte le masque de la Superstition qui, renversée sur un sphinx et sur un dragon, ne tient plus qu'un sceptre rompu à la main gauche ; sa couronne a déjà roulé à terre.

Il existe un premier tirage, rare, de cette édition, avec des erreurs d'imposition aux pages 31-34 et 43-46. Cf. Bibliothèque de la Ville de Bordeaux (cote 18060).

P2. PENSÉES/ PHILOSOPHIQUES./ *Piscis hic non est omnium.*/ A LA HAYE,/ Aux dépens de la Compagnie./ M.DCC.XLVI.

in-12 de 60 pp. (53 pp. + 3 ff. de table). Cf. B.N. D2. 5194 (2).

P3. PENSÉES/ PHILOSOPHIQUES./ *Piscis hic non est omnium.*/ AUX INDES,/ Chez BEDIHULDGEMALE./ MDCCXLVIII.

in-12 de 68 pp. + 4 ff. de table. Certains éléments des ornements typographiques de la page de titre et de la première page du texte sont identiques aux motifs correspondants de P et de P1. Cf. B.N. R. 45637 ; Bibliothèque de la Ville de Marseille (Recueil 77-648, 2^e pièce).

P4. PENSÉES/ PHILOSOPHIQUES./ *Piscis hic non est omnium.*/ AUX INDES,/ Chez BEDIHULDGEMALE./ M.DCC.XLVIII.

in-12 de 72 pp. (65 pp. + 3 ff. de table). Cf. B.N. R. 46046.

K. PHILOSOPHIE/ MORALE/ REDUITE A SES PRINCIPES,/ OU/ ESSAI DE M. S*./ SUR/ LE MÉRITE ET LA VERTU./ NOUVELLE ÉDITION,/ Augmentée de Pensées & de Reflexions./ . . . Ludicra pono./**

Quid verum atque decens, curo & rogo, & omnis in hoc sum./ Horat. Epist. 10/ A VENISE,/ Par la Société des Libraires./ M.DCC.LI.

in-12 (A8 + B4 + C8 + D4 etc.) de 2 ff. fx-tit. et tit., 1 p., pagin. IV-XX, 368 pp. et 5 ff. pour la Table. Les "Pensées philosophiques" se trouvent pp. 317-368 (Signatures : Ff8 + Cg4 + Hh8 + Ii4 + Kk8, la Table des Matières y comprise). Cf. British Museum, 8404, b. 24.

Les *Pensées et Réflexions* sont les *Maximes* de La Rochefoucauld. Cf. Jean Marchand, "Une édition subreptrice des *Maximes* de La Rochefoucauld, ou Diderot contrefacteur," *Bulletin du Bibliophile et du Bibliothécaire*, Série de guerre No. 4, 1940, pp. 133-138.

Et. ETRENNES/ DES/ *ESPRITS FORTS.*/ *Hic piscis non est omnium.*/ A LONDRES./ Chez PORPHYRE, à S. Thomas./ M.DCC.LVII.

petit in-16 de 4 ff. fx-tit., front. et tit., pp. III-VIII, 85 pp. (4 ff. + A16 + B16 + C16 + D4 + 2ff.). A *Messieurs les Esprits-Forts*, III-VIII ; *Pensées philosophiques*, 1-78 ; *Épître philosophique à un Philosophe*, 79-85 ; *Table des Matières*, 11 pp. Édition imprimée à Amsterdam. Cf. Exemplaire à la Bibliothèque Mazarine (49069). Le frontispice est une réduction de celui de Pl.

C. PENSÉES PHILOSOPHIQUES,/ *en françois et en italien,*/ *Auxquelles on a ajouté un Entretien/ d'un Philosophe avec Mde. LA/ Duchesse de xxx.*/ Ouvrage Posthume de/ THOMAS CRUDELI,/ *En Italien et en François, par le même/ Auteur.*/ *Piscis hic non est omnium.*/ LONDRES,/ MDCCLXXVII.

in-8 de 181 pp., imprimé à Amsterdam. Les "Pensées philosophiques" se trouvent pp. 1-115. Cf. Exemplaires à la B.N. (R. 13211) et au British Museum (8464. aa. 14).

D. ŒUVRES/ *PHILOSOPHIQUES*/ DE MR. D***./ TOME SECOND./ A AMSTERDAM,/ Chez MARC-MICHEL REY./ M.DCC.LXXII.

Il y a 6 vol. in-8 ornés de 6 gr. h.t. dont 2 rappellent le frontispice de Pl.

A *Messieurs les Esprits-Forts*, pp. 1-6 ; *Pensées philosophiques*, pp. 7-56 ; *Épître philosophique à un philosophe*, pp. 57-62 ; *Table des Matières*, pp. 63-72. Cf. B.N. Z. 27589.

G. COLLECTION / COMPLETE / DES / ŒUVRES / PHILOSOPHIQUES,/ LITTÉRAIRES ET DRAMATIQUES / DE / M. DIDEROT./ TOME II./ LONDRES./ M.DCC.LXXIII.

Il y a 5 vol. in-8.

Epître dédicatoire, Pensées philosophiques (pp. 75-111), *Epître philosophique à un Philosophe*. Cf. B.N. Z. 27596 ; British Museum, 99. c. 17-21.

Du vivant de Diderot les *Pensées philosophiques* ont été réimprimées dans les ouvrages suivants :

H. PENSÉES / PHILOSOPHIQUES / ET / PENSÉES
CHRÉTIENNES, / MISES EN PARALLELE / OU /
EN OPPOSITION.

Au verso : PENSÉES / PHILOSOPHIQUES. / *Piscis
hic non est omnium.* / A LA HAYE, / AUX DEPENS DE
LA COMPAGNIE. / M.DCC.XLVI.

En regard : PENSÉES / CHRÉTIENNES / MISES
EN PARALLELE, / OU / EN OPPOSITION / *Avec
les Pensées Philosophiques.* / ON Y A JOINT / Quelques
REFLEXIONS d'un autre / Auteur sur ces dernières. /
De his quae dico judicate vosmet ipsi I. Cor. X. / A
ROUEN, / AUX DEPENS DE LA COMPAGNIE. /
M.DCC.XLVII.

in-12 de 251 pp., fx-tit. et les 2 tit. comp., 21 pp. de Tables. Par
George Polier de Bottens, professeur d'hébreu à Lausanne. Barbier
signale une première édition qui serait de La Haye. Les différents
titres de l'ouvrage ont pu prêter à confusion. Cf. B.N. D. 47286.

F. PENSÉES RAISONNABLES / OPPOSÉES / AUX /
PENSÉES PHILOSOPHIQUES : / AVEC UN /
ESSAI DE CRITIQUE / Sur le Livre intitulé / *LES
MŒURS.* / *Relligio vincat, nostrae sit regula vitae.* /
Anti-Lucr. L.I. v. 764. / BERLIN, / CHEZ CHRET.
FRÉD. VOSS. / MDCCXLIX.

in-de XII pp., 260 pp. *Pensées raisonnables*, pp. 1-244. Par J.-H.-S.
Formey. Cf. British Museum, 4018. a. 14.

F. Pensées raisonnables opposées aux *Pensées philosophiques*,
avec un Essai de Critique sur le livre intitulé *Les Mœurs*,
et la Lettre de Gervaise Holmes à l'auteur de celle sur
les Aveugles. Par Mr. Formey. *Relligio vincat, nostrae
sit regula vitae.* Anti-Lucr. L.I. v. 764. Göttingue &
Leide, De l'Impr. d'Élie Luzac, fils, MDCCLVI.

in-8 de XIV et 330 pp. Dans cette réédition le texte des *Pensées raison-
nables* et des *Pensées philosophiques* tient en 244 pp. Comme il est
absolument identique à celui de la première édition nous le désignons
par la même abréviation : F. Cf. B.N. 8° R. 26106.

I. RÉFUTATION/ DES PENSÉES PHILOSOPHIQUES,/ PAR/ LES SEULES LUMIÈRES/ DE LA RAISON,/ ET/ LES PRINCIPES/ DE LA/ SAINE PHILOSOPHIE./ A Amsterdam,/ Chez les Wertin & Smith, Libraires./ M.DCC.L.

in-12 de 6 ff. de préface et 216 pp. Cet ouvrage est signalé par le "Journal de Trévoux," décembre 1751 où il est attribué au baron de Gauffridi (Marseille, Mossi, in-12, 216 pp.); il s'agit sans doute d'une autre édition. Celle repérée est signalé dans la *Bibliothèque annuelle et universelle*. Les chercheurs récents n'ont pu se procurer d'exemplaire de cet ouvrage rarissime et M. Franco Venturi lui-même n'a pas été plus heureux (*Jeunesse de Diderot*, Albert Skira Éditeur, 1939, p. 366). Il en existe cependant un exemplaire à la B.N. (cote : R. 46047) que le hasard des recherches nous a révélé. Il ne figure dans aucun catalogue de la B.N. Il est relié à l'exemplaire P4. Les pensées numéros 32, 37, 39, 49, 52, 53, 54 manquent et ne sont donc pas réfutées ; par suite la numérotation ne correspond pas à celle de P1.

Nous avons également collationné avec l'édition originale le texte fourni par les éditions posthumes :—

N. ŒUVRES/ DE/ DENIS DIDEROT,/ publiées, sur les manuscrits de l'auteur,/ PAR JACQUES-ANDRÉ NAIGEON,/ de l'Institut national des sciences, etc./ TOME PREMIER./ A PARIS,/ CHEZ DESRAY, RUE HAUTEFEUILLE, No. 36,/ ET/ DETERVILLE, RUE DU BATTOIR, N° 16./ AN VI-1798.

15 vol. in-8. *Pensées philosophiques*, vol. 1, pp. 217-267. Cf. B.N. Rés. Z. 3170. Une deuxième édition (An VIII-1800) est défectueuse.

B. *Œuvres de Denis Diderot*. A Paris, chez A. Belin, Imprimeur-Libraire, 1818, 7 vol. in-8. Tome Premier : pp. 103-125.

Br. *Œuvres de Denis Diderot*, Chez J. L. J. Brière, libraire, 1821-23, 21 vol. in-8, Paris. Tome Premier : pp. 197-241.

A. *Œuvres complètes de Diderot*, revues sur les éditions originales par J. Assézat (et Maurice Tourneux), Librairie Garnier frères, 1875-77, 20 vol. in-8. Tome Premier : pp. 127-155.

Il a été publié trois éditions spéciales des "Pensées philosophiques" dont nous avons indiqué les variantes :—

X. Diderot, *Œuvres philosophiques*, Paris, Librairie de la Bibliothèque Nationale, 1881, 25 centimes.

in-16 de 192 pp. Cf. B.N. 8° R. 4922. (*Pensées philosophiques*, pp. 71-108.)

Une réimpression : *Mélanges philosophiques*, 1893 (B.N. 8° R. 11717) ne diffère de l'ouvrage précédent que par le titre et la date.

Y. Denis Diderot, *Pensées philosophiques, suivies du Rêve de d'Alembert*, Chez Claude Aveline, Paris, 1926.

Orné d'un portrait d'après Levitski et de compositions originales gravées sur bois par Paul Baudier. Cf. B.N. 8° Z. 23829.

R. *Œuvres de Denis Diderot, Pensées philosophiques, Entretien entre d'Alembert et Diderot et autres opuscules philosophiques*, Librairie Gallimard, 1934 (Collection : Génie de la France).

Enfin certains extraits des " Pensées philosophiques " ont paru dans le recueil suivant :

ENC. MÉTH. ENCYCLOPÉDIE/ MÉTHODIQUE./ PHILOSOPHIE/ ANCIENNE ET MODERNE./ PAR M. NAIGEON./ TOME SECOND./ A PARIS,/ Chez PANCKOUCKE, Imprimeur-Libraire, hôtel de Thou, rue des/ Poitevins./ M.DCC.XCII.

in-4. Article *Diderot*, pp. 154-159. 36 extraits. Cf. B.N. Z. 8590.

* * * * *

VARIANTES DES PRINCIPALES ÉDITIONS.

En établissant le texte des variantes on n'a tenu compte ni de la ponctuation, qui n'intéresse pas le sens, ni de l'orthographe sauf quand celle-ci pouvait offrir un intérêt spécial.

Comme " A " est encore le texte le plus généralement accessible dans les bibliothèques, c'est à lui que nous renvoyons le lecteur.

Dans K le préambule en italiques est remplacé par les mots suivants : " Autres Pensées qui ne seront peut-être pas du goût de tout le monde, mais que l'on donne pour ce qu'elles sont, ainsi que le précis de quelques réponses qui y ont été faites."

Pensées

A.p.127, l. 18 I

P retournent en France) P1 etc. retournent en enfance.

128 6 III

P1 La contrainte anéantit) P2 le contraire à néantit.

Pensées

- A. p. 128, l. 13 IV *Pl* d'avoir les passions fortes) *X* d'avoir des passions fortes.
- 15 *Pl* une juste harmonie, & n'en) *P3*, *P4*, *I* une juste harmonie, n'en.
- 129, 6 VI *Pl* de désordres) *H*, *F* de désordre.
- 9 *Pl* une Province entière) *X* une province tout entière.
- Pl* toutes affections sociales) *F* toutes les affections sociales.
- 14 VII *Pl* dans ces cachots) *P2*, *Et* dans ces cahots.
- 14 *Pl* tous ces cadavres plaintifs) *C*, *X* ces cadavres plaintifs.
- 130, 1 IX *Pl* qui nous expriment en nombres) *I*, *N*, *B*, *Br*, *A*, *Y*, *R* qui nous expriment en nombre.
- 5 *Pl* si l'on était bien assuré) *A*, *Y*, *R* si l'on était assez bien assuré.
- 9 X *Pl* clémence & la cruauté) *H*, *F* clémence et de la cruauté ; *I* clémence et sa cruauté.
- 11 XI *Pl* Je sçais que les idées) *ENC. MÉTH.* Les idée.
- 15 *Pl* enjouée) *P4* enjoué.
- 15 *Pl* leur sagesse est fort humaine) *ENC. MÉTH.* leur dévotion est fort humaine.
- 16 *Pl* aux pieds) *Br*, *A*, *Y*, *R* au pied.
- 19 *Pl* dans le même dévot) *P3*, *P4*, *I* dans le dévot.
- 21 *Pl* frayeur, ou il brule) *R* frayeur où il brûle ; *X* frayeur ou brûle.
- 22 *Pl* ses accès froids & chauds) *X* des accès froids et chauds.
- 26 XII *Pl* qu'il n'y eût jamais) *C*, *G*, *F*, *N*, *B*, *Br*, *A*, *R* qu'il n'y eut jamais.
- 29 XIII *Pl* faire tête à l'Athée) *I* faire tête.
- 132, 4 XV *Pl* à faire) *Br*, *A*, *Y*, *R* affaire.
- 7 *Pl* pérît) *P2*, *P4*, *Et*, *C*, *D*, *I* pérît.
- 15 *Pl* elle peut choquer) *C* elle ne peut choquer.
- 29 XVII *Pl* Hobbs) *C*, *G*, *N*, *B*, *Br*, *A*, *R* Hobbes.
- 33 XVIII *Pl* les grands coups) *C* les plus grands coups.
- 133, 5 *Pl* Hartzoeker) *D* Hartzokher.
- 6 *Pl* Nieuwentit) *C*, *G*, *R* Nieuwentyt.
- 6 *Pl* des preuves satisfaisantes) *G* ces preuves satisfaisantes.
- 7 *Pl* Graces aux travaux) *Br*, *A*, *Y*, *R* Grâce aux travaux.
- 16 XIX *Pl* ses effets) *P4* ces effets.
- 24 *Pl* sortir) *P2* sortit.
- 28 XX *Pl* que j'avois essayé) *I* que j'aurois essayé.
- 29 *Pl* de ces raisonnemens) *Et*, *C* de ses raisonnements.
- 134, 1 *Pl* vérités inutiles me sont démontrées) *X* vérités me sont démontrées.

Pensées

- A. p. 134, l. 11 XX *PI* me répondit-il, d'un air satisfait) *I* me répondit d'un air satisfait.
- 18 *PI* Entre les actes extérieurs & la pensée) *B* Entre les actes extérieurs de la pensée.
- 19 *PI* il est possible que ton antagoniste) *B* il est impossible que ton antagoniste.
- 26 *PI* entre les propositions, & la liaison) *R* entre propositions et la liaison ; *P3* entre les propositions, la liaison.
- 32 *PI* reconnoître une intelligence) *P3*, *P4*, *I* reconnoître l'intelligence.
- 34 *PI* vos semblables) *I* notre semblable.
- 135, 10 *PI* Quelle assertion) *I* Quelles assertions.
- 18 *PI* qu'une aile de papillon) *I* que l'aile d'un Papillon.
- 24 *PI* ces tissus d'idées seches) *I* ce tissu d'idées sèches.
- 29 XXI *PI* que vous me dissiez) *P3*, *Et* que vous me disiez.
- 136, 7 *PI* somme finie de jets) *P4* somme finie des jets.
- 9 *PI* quantité de jets accordée) *P4*, *I* quantité des jets accordée.
- 13 *PI* multitude des atômes étoient infinie) *R* multitude des atomes est infinie.
- 23 *PI* il ne se soit rencontré) *I* il ne se soit remontré.
- 23 *PI* ces arrangements) *Et* ses arrangements.
- 26 *PI* de la naissance réelle) *H*, *F* de la formation réelle.
- 32 XXII *P*, *PI* semblent) toutes les autres éditions semblant.
- 35 *PI* toute consolation me semble morte pour eux) *Et*, *D* toute consolation me semble pour eux.
- 137, 2 XXIII *PI* n'est point décidé sur ces articles) *X* n'est pas décidé sur ses articles.
- 3 *PI* Le Sceptique) *P2* Le Scetique.
- 7 *PI* seroit fondé sur un peut-être) *F* seroit sur un peut-être.
- 17 XXIV *PI* vous trouvez légère) *R* vous trouverez légère.
- 19 *PI* comment nous accorderons-nous) *P4* comment nous accordons-nous.
- 20 *PI* pour contrebalancer) *P2* peut contrebalancer.
- 21 *PI* une conclusion Métaphysique) *R* une preuve métaphysique.
- 27- *PI* On me fait haïr les choses vraisemblables, dit l'auteur des Essais, quand on me les plante pour infaillibles. J'aime ces mots qui amollissent & modèrent le témérité de nos propositions, à l'aventure, aucunement, quelquefois, on dit, je pense, & autres semblables : & si j'eusse eu à dresser des enfans, je leur eusse tant mis en la bouche cette façon de répondre enquestante & non résolutive, qu'est-ce à dire ? je ne l'entens pas, il pourroit

Pensées

être, est-il vrai, qu'ils eussent plutôt gardé la forme d'apprentifs à soixante ans, que de représenter les docteurs à l'âge de quinze.) *Br* On me fait haïr les choses vraisemblables, dit l'auteur des *Essais*, quand on me les plante pour infaillibles. L'aime ces mots qui amollissent et modèrent la témérité de nos propositions : à l'aventure, aucunement, quelque, on dict, ie pense, et autres semblables : et si j'eusse eu à dresser des enfants, ie leur eusse tant mis en la bouche cette façon de répondre enquestante, non resolute : *qu'est-ce à dire ?* *Je ne l'entends pas*, *Il pourroit estre, est-il vray ?* qu'ils eussent plustost gardé la forme d'apprentis à soixante ans que de représenter les docteurs à dix ans, comme ils font.

(*A* et *Y* suivent le texte de *Br*, mais omettent *autres*. *N* et *B* ont également corrigé la leçon de *Pl*, mais ont gardé l'orthographe moderne. *R* suit *A*, mais remplace *I* par *J* : *J'aime*, *Je pense*. Cependant *R* conserve l'orthographe *l'eusse* et remplace *enquestante* par *enquesteuse*.)

A. p. 137, l. 29 XXIV

31

Pl on me les plante) *P4* on me les plantes.*Pl* quelquefois) *ENC. MÉTH.*, *N*, *B*, *Br*, *A*, *Y*, *R* quelque.

33

Pl qu'est-ce à dire) *C* quest ce à dire.

34

Pl je ne l'entend pas) *P3* je ne l'entend pas.

34

Pl il pourroit être) *C*, *D* il paroît être ; *P4* il pourroit estre.

34

Pl est-il vrai) *P3*, *P4* il est vrai.

138, 2

Pl, à l'âge de quinze) *X* à l'âge de quinze ans.(ENC. MÉTH. ainsi que les autres éditions sauf *N*, *B*, *Br*, *A*, *Y*, *R* suivent le texte *Pl*.)

13 XXV

Pl qu'y aura-t-il de surprenant) *R* qu'y aurait-il de surprenant.

18 XXVI

Pl de Dieu : autre défaut) *B* de Dieu : un autre défaut.

24

Pl à dresser, moi je lui) *P4* à dresser, je lui.

29

P, *Pl*, *P4*, *I*, *X* Dieu t'entends) *K* Dieu t'entens ; les autres éditions Dieu t'entend.

139, 3 XXVII

Pl oreilliers) *I* oreilles.

17 XXVIII

Pl à tâton) *Et*, *C*, *G*, *H*, *F*, *N*, *B*, *Br*, *A*, *X*, *R*, à tâtons.

23

Pl d'ignorer) *P4* dignorer.

140, 5 XXIX

Pl je suis nécessité de) *X* je suis dans la nécessité de.

8

Pl L'on n'est point récompensé) *X* L'on n'est pas récompensé.

20 XXXI

Pl Le Scepticisme est donc le premier pas) *Y* Le Sceptique est donc le premier pas.

Pensées

- A. p. 140, l. 24 XXXI *PI* à cette épreuve) *I* à cette Preuve.
- 26 XXXII *PI* voit loin dans) *C* voit de loin dans.
- 141, 2 XXXIII *PI* Polythéiste) *I* Prophétiste.
- 12 XXXIV *PI* qu'il appréhende de sonder) *X* qu'il appréhende de fonder.
- 25 XXXVI *PI* de leurs Religions) *ENC. MÉTH.* de leur religion.
- 142, 2 XXXVII *PI* C'est un bonheur & non pas) *Et* C'est un honneur & non pas.
- 5 XXXVIII *PI* qu'il croit vrai ; ou pour un) *ENC. MÉTH.* qu'il croit vrai ; pour un.
- 6 *PI* il n'a point de preuves) *A*, *Y* il n'a pas de preuves.
- 10 XXXIX *PI* Le vrai Martyr attend la mort ; L'enthousiaste y court) *R* L'enthousiaste y court. Le vrai martyr attend la mort.
- 12 XLI *PI* Le tems des Révélations) *I* Le tems de révélations.
- 20 *PI* Peuples) *G* Peuple.
- 23 *PI* de sa prédiction) *X* de la prédiction.
- 24 *PI* Elie peut . . . accueilli dans celui-ci. (Ce passage est supprimé dans *I*.)
- 143, 4 XLII *PI* de crier) *A* de s'écrier.
- 6 *PI* d'un visionnaire) *I* d'un Missionnaire.
- 8 *PI* ils fermoient) *Br*, *A* ils fermeraient.
- 9 *PI* vint-il) *Et*, *C*, *F*, *N*, *B*, *Br*, *A*, *X*, *Y*, *R* vint-il.
- 13 *PI* juger de) *A* juge de.
- 144, 2 XLIII *PI* d'exciter des révoltes) *D* d'exciter les révoltes.
- 4 *PI* aux pieds de nos autels) *Br*, *A*, *X*, *Y*, *R* au pied de nos autels.
- 14 *PI* ont insulté) *Et*, *C*, *D*, *N*, *B*, *Br*, *A*, *Y*, *R* ont insultés.
- 18 *PI* à tout dessein factieux) *X* à tous desseins factieux ; *P2* à tous dessein factieux.
- 21 *PI* demeurés fidèles) *K* demeuré fidèles.
- 24 *PI* que la méchanceté n'est à blâmer) *H*, *F* que la méchanceté . . .
- 26 *PI* nos fidèles Sujets) *R* mes fidèles sujets.
- 28-33 *PI* Tels étoient . . . les Dieux de son país. (Ce passage est supprimé dans *I*.)
- 36 XLIV *PI* ne nuisent point à la vérité) *X* ne nuisent pas à la vérité.
- 36 *PI* vérité du Christianisme) *F* vérité au Christianisme.
- 145, 3 *PI* l'attention singulière que les Peres de l'Eglise ont eu) *C*, *G*, *F*, *N*, *B*, *Br*, *A*, *Y*, *R* l'attention singulière que les pères de l'église ont eue.
- 4 *PI* ces prédécesseurs) *G*, *N*, *B*, *Br*, *A*, *Y*, *R* ses prédécesseurs.
- 5 *PI* hérité du zèle) *A*, *Y*, *R* hérité le zèle.
- 19 XLV *PI* les originaux mêmes) *K*, *N*, *B* les originaux même.

Pensées

- A. p. 141, l. 21 XLV *Pl* comme ils y entendoient) *Et*, *D* comme s'ils y entendoient ; *C* comme ils s'y entendoient.
- 23 *Pl* Moyse & ses Continuateurs) *P3*, *P4*, *I* Moïse et les continueurs.
- 25 *Pl* soupçonne pas assurément) *G* soupçonne point.
- 33 *Pl* dans le dessein & dans l'exécution) *N*, *B*, *Br*, *A*, *X*, *Y*, dans le dessin et dans l'exécution ; *R* dans le dessin et l'exécution.
- 146, 2 *Pl* Quelle application ne ferois-je point de ces tableaux) *C* Quelle application ne ferois-je pas de ces tableaux.
- 16- XLVI *P* étoit incapable de fanatisme & de sédition) *Pl* étoit incapable de fanatisme & de séduction ; *Y*, *R* étoit capable de fanatisme et de sédition ; *I* étoit incapable de fanatisme de séduction.
- 33 XLVII *Pl* avoit formés) *I* avoit formé.
- 34 *Pl* est sacrilège) *R* est un sacrilège.
- 147, 7 *Pl* Lors Tarquin) *X* Alors Tarquin.
- 9 *Pl* "approche, dit-il, au Devin :) *F* Approche (dit-il au Divin).
- 15 *Pl* se séparent) *R* se séparèrent.
- 24 *Pl* Que répondez-vous à cela ?) *P4* Que répondrez-vous à cela ?
- 30 *Pl* Hoc ego Philosophi non arbitror testibus) *H*, *F* Hoc ego Philosophi non esse arbitror testibus.
- 30 *Pl* casu viri) *Et*, *C*, *H*, *F*, *N*, *B*, *Br*, *A*, *Y*, *R* casu veri.
- 31 *Pl* fictique esse possunt) *Et*, *C*, *D*, fictique esse possint.
- 35 *Pl* accii navii), *P2*, *Et*, *K*, *C*, *D*, *G*, *H*, *F*, *B*, *Br*, *A*, *Y* Accii Navii, *N* Attii Navii, *X* Allii Navii, *R* Atti Navii.
- 36 *Pl* totius augurii) *G* totius auguris.
- 38 *Pl* autorem) *P3*, *C*, *H*, *F*, *Br*, *A*, *Y*, *R* auctorem.
- 39 *Pl* Actium ne navium) *K*, *G* Accium ne Navium ; *P2*, *C*, *D*, *B* Acciumne Navium ; *Et*, *F* Acciumne Navium ; *N*, *X*, *R* Attiumne Navium ; *A*, *Y* Acciumne Navium . . . ; *I* Acciumne navium ; *Br* Acciumne Navium. . . .
- 148, 1 *Pl* Divinitatis) *R* divitatis.
- 1 *Pl* autores), *C*, *H*, *F*, *Br*, *A*, *Y*, *R* auctores ; *I* authores.
- 3 *Pl* Quasi verè), *I*, *N*, *X* Quasi vero.
- 5 *Pl* judicando) *R* judicandi.
- 8 *Pl* de grands inconveniens) *I* des grands inconveniens.
- 17 XLIX *Pl* le Soldat en murmurent) *C* le soldat murmurent.
- 22 *Pl* aux Cieux) *P3* au cieux.
- 34 *Pl* Mirum est quantum) *H*, *F*, *N* Mirum quantum ; *C* Mirum est quantim.

Pensées

A. p. 148, l. 34 XLIX

- 35 *PI* viro, hoec nuntianti, fidei fuerit) *N, B, Br* viro nuntianti hoec fides fuerit ; *F* viro nuntianti hoec fidei, *H* viro nuntianti haec fidei.
- 149, 1 *PI* admiratio) *R* almiratio.
- 2 *PI* factoque a paucis initio) *N, B, Br, A, Y* deinde a paucis initio facto ; *R* deidae a paucis initio facto.
- 3 *PI* salvare) *D, G* salvare.
- 6 *PI* ce ne fut point un simple Particulier à qui) *C, D* ce ne fut plus un simple Particulier à qui.
- 8 *PI* en un jour) *R* en un seul jour.
- 16 L *PI* Grace à l'extrême) *I* Graces à l'extrême.
- 19 *PI* ressuscite des morts) *X* ressuscite les morts.
- 23 *PI* laisse tous ces prestiges) *I* laisses tous ces prestiges.
- 33 LI *PI* rien ne l'emeut) *I, X* rien ne le meut.
- 150, 2 *PI* ad imitatas lamentantis) *N, B, Br, A, Y, R* ad imitatas quasi lamentantis.
- 3 *PI* aufferebat) *C, H, F, I, B, Br, A, X, Y* auferebat ; *R* auferabat.
- 5 *PI* ureretur), *B, Br, A* uretur ; *Et, D* uteretur.
- 5 *PI* admodo) *G* admodum ; *C, N, B, Br, A, X, Y, R* admoto.
- 7 *PI* Si certaines gens avoient rencontré de nos jours)
I Si certaines gens de nos jours avoient rencontré.
- 8 *PI* tiré bon parti) *R* tiré un bon parti.
- 12 *PI* peut-être pour confondu) *B, Br, A, Y, R* peut-être confondu.
- 17 LII *PI* et même que cette certitude) *P3, P4* et même de cette certitude.
- 151, 2 LIII *PI* quatre personnes charitables qui le soutiennent)
H, F quatre personnes qui le soutiennent.
- 3 *PI* qui s'en émerveille de répéter) *X* qui s'en émerveille répéter.
- 4 *PI* le miracle) *P3* ce miracle.
- 10-21 LIV (Dans *R* la pensée LIV est présentée comme le second paragraphe de LIII, et par suite la numérotation des pensées qui suivent a été changée.)
- 21 *PI* point décidée) *C* pas décidée.
- 22 LV *PI* partis) *I* Parties.
- 152, 1 *PI* il y a eu des Fanatiques) *K* il y a eu de Fanatiques.
- 5 LVI *PI* On dit tous les jours à des incrédules : Qui êtes-vous) *H, F* On dit tous les jours ; Qui êtes-vous.
- 10 *PI* ces génies supérieurs) *I* ses Genies supérieurs.
- 11 *PI* que vous en sçavez) *G* que vous savez.
- 16 *PI* je ne peux adorer) *I* je ne puis adorer.
- 22 *PI* tes Dieux) *H, F* les Dieux.

Pensées

- A. p. 152, l. 25 LVI
 29 *P1* Quelle que soit) *C* quelque soit.
P1 Omittamus ista communia quoe ex utraque)
G Omittamus ista communia quoe utraque.
 29 *P1* quanquam) *I* qua inquam ; *B* quamquam.
 30 *P1* dici possunt) *P2* d'ici possunt.
 31 *P1* dici non possint) *P2* d'ici non possint.
 32 *P1* raison seule fait des Croyans) *F* raison seule fait
 de Croyans.
 153, 1 *P1* on persécuteroit volontiers ceux qui) *R* on per-
 sécuterait ceux qui.
 3 LVII *P1* par de mauvaises raisons) *I* par des mauvaises
 raisons.
 7 LVIII *P1* quelque chose de contraire à) *P2*, *G* quelque
 chose contraire à.
 19 *P1* jamais eu aucun commerce immédiat) *C* jamais
 eu de commerce immédiat.
 24 LIX *P1* Abadie) *P2*, *C*, *H*, *D*, *F*, *I*, *B*, *Br*, *A*, *R* Abbadie.
 27 *P1* ne me seroit point encore démontré) *P4*, *C*, *I*
 ne seroit point encore démontré.
 29 *P1* les trois angles) *P4* ses trois angles.
 154, 4 LX *P1* prétendez lui démontrer) *I* prétendez démontrer.
 5 *P1* il ne manquera pas de) *R* il ne manquera de.
 10 *P1* qu'elle a rejeté) *C*, *N*, *B*, *Br*, *A*, *R* qu'elle a
 rejeté ; *G*, *F* qu'on a rejeté.
 11 *P1* à ce manuscrit) *I* au Manuscrit.
 11 *P1* qui vous a dirigé) *N*, *B*, *Br*, *A* qui vous a dirigés.
 13 *P1* originale) *N*, *B*, *Br*, *A*, *Y*, *R* originelle.

THE TERCENTENARY OF COMENIUS'S VISIT TO ENGLAND, 1592-1671.

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THE great Educator's own training was mainly in the school of hardship. Reading and writing he learned probably from his parents, and the knowledge of the Bible. In early boyhood he lost both father and mother. Through the neglect or worse of his guardians it was not till he was sixteen that he got his first taste of the Latin tongue. It was a bitter taste. He was old enough by that time to see the utter wrongness of the way they taught him Latin, making him learn by heart, in Latin, all the rules of the grammar before he knew the meaning of a single word. "By the goodness of God," he writes, "that taste bred such a thirst in me that I ceased not from that time, by all means and endeavours, to labour for the retrieving of my lost years ; and not only for myself, but for the good of others also. Therefore, I was continuously full of thoughts for the finding of some means whereby more might be influenced with the love of learning, and whereby learning itself might be made more compendious, both in the matter of charge and cost, and of the labours belonging thereto." He saw, in effect, what he was meant to do in life, and the rest of his life was spent in doing it.

He studied at Herborn and at Heidelberg. Like other poor students he travelled on foot. At Herborn he was under J. H. Alsted, a most notable and inspiring teacher, with whom he still corresponded long after ; he writes what we should call the Foreword to *The Great Didactic*. Of his Heidelberg days we know nothing except that he bought a manuscript of Copernicus—a hint that he had already a glimpse of the new light that was dawning, not through scholastic windows.

At the age of twenty-two he had still two years before ordination in the Moravian ministry, known in those days as the Bohemian Brethren or *Unitas Fratrum*. For these two years he took charge of a Moravian school and seized the opportunity to put into practice the new ideas that were ripening in his mind. Scholars in those days held in slight account the language of the common folk, as being no proper vehicle of literature. Comenius loved it, and saw how through contempt it was losing its purity. He wrote for his pupils an easier grammar and a Czech dictionary. In 1618, at the age of twenty-seven, he married and settled down as Pastor at Fulneck, acting at the same time as supervisor of the school. But unhappily that same year saw the outbreak of the Thirty Years War. In 1620 the Protestants were defeated at the White Mountain and their chief leaders were executed at Prague. Fulneck was plundered and burned. Comenius lost his books and everything he had. His wife and two children were swept away by an epidemic. All the waves and the billows went over him. For over thirty years he ate the bread of exile. As Michelet says: "He lost his country and found his country, which was the world".

Finding a refuge with the Count of Leszno (Lissa) in Poland, he addressed himself to writing the first treatise which set the Science of Education on its proper basis, *The Great Didactic*. It begins, as the Scottish Catechism begins, and every book on the science of education should begin, with the question: What is the chief end of man? Education had failed disastrously. It had to make a new start. Here it is: "Man is the highest Absolute and the most excellent of things created. The ultimate end of man is beyond this life. This life is but a preparation for eternity." He begins not with the fall of man and the doctrine of our total depravity, but with man's Divine origin and Divine destiny. In these days high authorities tell us that the end of education is to adapt man to his environment. If that is the true view, if it is the business of school to adapt our children to our present environment, what is the use of schools at all? Men can go to the Devil fast enough, without any lessons. Which is right, the horizontal way of thinking or the vertical? Everything depends upon our answer.

The Great Didactic is dedicated to the Rulers of the State and the Church. Education cannot be left to private initiative. The child has a right as a citizen, and as a member of the Church, to education. The State and the Church must provide it. The whole of *The Great Didactic* may be described as the Charter of Childhood, set forth in explicit terms. All children are to be "educated in common." Comenius will have no higher education reserved strictly for what we call the higher classes. He will not have any exclusion of girls. Nor does he exclude those whom we call savages. The Moravians have been known from the first as a great missionary Church. When unable to reach the slaves on the sugar plantations by any other means, their missionaries had themselves sold as slaves. We must make disciples, i.e. learners of all nations and schools must go hand in hand with the Gospel. "Add to your faith virtue and to your virtue knowledge." The combination of "Godliness and good learning" dates back to St. Peter.

When he comes to state clearly the principles of reform, Comenius justifies each step by the analogy of Nature. He was in his way a disciple of Bacon, only it was by the way of analogy, not of induction. The basis of reform is exact order. The easy must come first, then the difficult. It must proceed from the general to the particular, from the simple to the complex, from the concrete to the abstract. Again, "Each individual creature not only suffers itself to be led easily in the direction which its nature finds congenial, but is actually impelled towards the desired goal, and suffers pain if any obstacle be interposed." This education shall be conducted without blow, rigour or compulsion, as gently and pleasantly as possible, and in the most natural manner. "Just as a living body grows without any straining or forcible extension of the limbs—since, if food, care and exercise are properly supplied, the body grows and becomes strong, gradually, imperceptibly, and of its own accord—the mind, too, grows by proper nutriment and exercise, not by being stretched upon the rack." These are commonplaces to-day. They were in flat contradiction to all the practice of Comenius's contemporaries. To us they are as obvious as the Ten Commandments, but the whole Decalogue was broken in every school session by the pre-Comenius teachers.

So much for the start. He then plans the course as a whole, stage by stage, beginning with *schola materni gremii*, years one to six, the vernacular school, six to twelve, the Latin school, twelve to eighteen, and, last, the University.

The school must find room for *things* as well as words. It was senseless to learn mere words. Children must learn Nature, including their own bodies. They must learn mathematics, history, geography, civics, drawing, music. They must have physical training. This suggests an overcrowded curriculum. But Comenius was too practical a teacher to make this mistake. By adopting the right method for Latin and postponing that language until the twelfth year, he can ensure a worthwhile result in a two-years' course, instead of which the old method, with seven years, produced a result which was not worth while. Latin could not be excluded. It was the *lingua franca* of learning. But when it plunged the learner into the new language by making him learn by heart all the rules of grammar, all the declensions and conjugations and the prepositions with the cases they govern, and learn all this in Latin without understanding a word, it was a method suitable possibly for teaching parrots but not for intelligent creatures. It was the method by which Frederick Temple, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was taught by his mother, but then she knew no Latin, and that was possibly the reason why the pre-Comenius teachers followed the method so faithfully. Comenius saw that a language can be learned only by using it, and he set himself to compose groups of sentences by means of which the learner would acquire vocabulary as rapidly as possible. He called his textbook *Janua linguarum reserata* (the gate of language unbarred). But the position of Latin was under Comenius definitely the second place; its function was to teach knowledge of things. That was the main aim. Latin was indispensable, not in itself, but because without it there was no knowledge of the positive sciences. By his Latin sentences the learner of Latin was acquiring knowledge of his natural environment and of himself. When the pupil had learned the whole of his *Janua* he had an outline as it were of an encyclopædia of knowledge about the world in which he lived. He had more, he had a clue by which he could follow up the pursuit of knowledge

for himself. (It is interesting to note that Thomas Arnold did something of the same kind. He set the Rugby boys to read Guizot's *History of Civilisation*, and a French botany book. He, too, was not above killing two birds with one stone.)

The outstanding feature of the Comenius School was that it dealt with things. It appealed to the senses. The plural is important. Object lesson appeal to hearing, sight and touch. All Helen Keller's education was by touch. The sense of touch was the only way to get through to her imprisoned soul: "verba sine rebus putamina sunt sine nucleo, vagina sine gladio, umbra sine corpore". But there are obvious limitations. You cannot introduce a tiger into your classrooms, even a stuffed specimen. You must have a picture. Comenius was not happy till he had an edition of *Janua* illustrated with woodcuts. It was printed at Nuremberg and called *Orbis pictus*. The boy Goethe rejoiced in that book. Probably it was the first illustrated book ever published specially for children. At any rate it was the first Children's Encyclopædia. The *Janua* gave also precepts of health, manners, and moral behaviour, much as did the copy-books of our own schooldays.

The object lesson led naturally to manual occupation, which is more than manual training. It is training also of eye, of patience, and of intellect. Mind tells the hand what it is to do and the work of the hand suggests problems to the mind. It is this wholesome reaction between mind and occupation that makes manual work also a form of liberal training. The Spens report prescribes a new Technical High School on the same level as the Language High School as a place of liberal education.

One other feature of the Comenian School. He sees the educative value of play. Elders can do much, yet children of the same age and the same manners and habits can do more. "When they talk and play together," says Comenius, "they sharpen each other more effectually. . . . It is better to play than to be idle, for during play the mind is intent on some object which often sharpens the abilities." "Children ought to be accustomed to an active life and perpetual employment." These are extracts, not from Froebel, but from Comenius's *School of Infancy*.

This leads to the greatest of all his reforms, the reform of discipline. Even in infancy his precept is "Act reasonably with a reasonable creature." The great indictment against medieval teachers was that they acted as executioners dealing with criminals. Daily and hourly they whipped the offending Adam out of them, and the result was a loathing on the part of scholars against the whole educational process. There is no reference to schools, or schoolmasters in Shakespeare which does not express hatred. The schoolboy "creeps like a snail unwillingly to school." How could it be otherwise when the birch was regarded as the tree of knowledge. Latin took up practically eight hours a day. And yet after, in many cases, ten years of this daily drudgery the great majority could not speak Latin or write Latin nor read a Latin book. Why? Because the method was perverse; so perverse that Lubinus says some wicked malign spirit "must have invented it." "Mere scullions," he says, "and camp followers can learn two or three foreign languages in as many years." The words are taken from the preface to his edition of the Greek Testament. "The schools," said Comenius, "were not *officinae hominum sed carnificinae*—not factories of men but slaughterhouses." It was the greatest of all services Comenius rendered to education that he showed up the utter futility of this barbarism, thought out the better way, and showed the right spirit of reform. He went to Nature. He asks, What is her way? What does life need for growth? Life, both vegetable and animal, needs sunlight, sun-heat. It needs rain and occasional thunder. Given these, the response is inevitable. So children respond to gentleness, cheerfulness, a dash of humour, and an occasional thunderstorm. He has no scheme of prizes appealing to their acquisitive instinct, no examinations appealing to their competitive instinct. The art of arts is to guide men—*τεχνή τεχνῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄγειν*—not to coerce. In this gentler discipline as in Latin Comenius "unbars the gate."

On the whole, what impresses one most in him, what draws out one's heart to him is his Universality. He is a member of what was probably the smallest of all the branches of the Christian Church, and certainly it was the most bitterly persecuted, for at the treaty of Westphalia which brought to an end the Thirty

Years War, there was toleration for all other Protestants but not for the Bohemian Brothers. But his outlook is the widest, his love is for all men. He has all the time, what Ruysbroeck the meditative calls, "a widespreading love to all in common." When Comenius came to London just 300 years ago, he met there in Hartlib's circle John Winthrop the younger, son of the Massachusetts Governor. They had much talk about the native Red Indians. Comenius sketched out for him a whole plan, not only for converting the Indians, but bringing them through education into the full status of Christian civilisation. Dr. R. Y. Young has written a book on this visit to London, setting out in full the documentary evidence with necessary annotations. The result was that Winthrop took back with him Comenius's text-books and in the newly founded Harvard College in Cambridge, Massachusetts, there was a substantially built Hostel for fifty Indian students. Note that Harvard College was built of timber, but the Hostel of brick. More about the London group presently.

Another instance of his Catholicity. It came later. A patron called Lewis de Geer has engaged him and provided him with others to help him in the reorganisation of the schools of Sweden and the provision of new text-books. He is by this time the Chief Bishop of the Bohemian Brothers. He is invited as such to attend a conference to discuss the possibility of healing the great breach between the Catholic Church and the Reformed Churches. He informs his patron and says he feels he must go. "No," says de Geer, "I am paying you to provide text-books for Swedish schools and I expect you to stick at your job." There we have the contrast. Lewis de Geer was a wholesale trader, but he has what Aristotle calls the retail dealer's mind. Similarly, our English Mulcaster considers at length how the number of educated people is to be kept down. It is still a typically English attitude. Do they not ask in the Clubs even to-day: "Where in the world are we going to get our kitchen maids with all this education?" Comenius's *Didactic* insists on the Universality of education. The school is a place where all children are to be taught all subjects with all thoroughness (*ubi omnes omnia omnino doceantur*).

Bacon, "the first of the Moderns," found the Universities of

Europe too narrow for the new philosophy. They were in reality not much more than professional schools for the Law and the Church. Solomon's House that Bacon dreamed of in New Atlantis for the generating and propagating of the new Sciences must have a wider scope. "The condition and endowment must be such as may content the ablest man to appropriate his whole labour and continue his whole age in that function and attendance." This was the same idea which in a form less fantastic but more business-like possessed the mind and caught the enthusiasm of Comenius. He thought of knowledge in terms as wide as the world. He foresaw a great new accession to the sum of human knowledge, far more than any single mind could cope with. This sum of knowledge he called Pansophia. How was this new mass of knowledge to be classified and all its channels to be co-ordinated? When he talked this over with Hartlib and his circle of friends in London, Dr. Williams, Bishop of Lincoln (shortly to be Archbishop of York), the Hon. Robert Boyle, John Pym, one of the leaders of Parliament, John Selden, and others, he found eager response. They saw the need of some Central Authority, a kind of G.H.Q. to plan the campaign against Ignorance and prevent overlapping and confusion. What a chaos of terminological inexactitude there was sure to be if it were not taken in hand. This Central Authority he called the Pansophic College. His London friends thought he was the man to shoulder this Atlas-like world burden. It so happened that the Government had on its hands the College of Chelsea. It was founded and endowed by the last will and testament of a Dean. But there were disputed points and lawyers were not missing their chance. The idea of Parliament was to appropriate the whole foundation for carrying out the new scheme for the growth of Natural Science. But the Civil War broke out. Comenius had to leave England after nine months' stay. Not having any other source of income, he had to accept the task assigned him by his patron aforesaid, Lewis de Geer. That task was the reorganisation of the schools of Sweden and the preparation of the necessary text-books. It was a bitter disappointment to Comenius. He thought that his work for the schools was so far completed that others could well carry it out on the right lines. His text-books were

used in more than half the schools of Europe, and translated into eighteen different languages. His *Great Didactic* had been written eighteen years before and had put education for the first time on a scientific basis. To go back to the thorny and tedious business of writing text-books cost him an effort. But he bowed to necessity. "Limits we did not set condition what we do." It is more than probable that this involved a great loss to humanity. We cannot say. But at any rate the talks in London did not dissolve altogether into thin air. They had their issue in 1662 when the Royal Society received its charter and the leading men of science found a common centre. The foundation of similar societies in Paris and Berlin and in other countries started a great system of mutual correspondence, a correspondence carried on in war as well as in peace. But the World University is not yet. Rabindranath Tagore and Mr. Brenchara Branford, with his Mundaneum, have cherished the dream. When I saw something of Columbia University in New York, with its thirty-six thousand graduates yearly of all nations and tongues, I thought of Comenius. I hope they will be thinking of him at this Centenary. He made the great renunciation, and it redounds to his moral greatness that he did not break out into self-pity or any Byronic outburst against the injustice of Providence. He went on writing and teaching to the end. The number of his publications is over one hundred and twenty-seven, most of them written in Latin.

In the last of his writings, *Unum Necessarium*, he writes, "I thank God I have been all my life a man of aspirations . . . for the longing after good, however it spring up in the heart, is always a rill flowing from the fountain of all good—from God." A memorable word from a memorable man! The great teacher had learned *the* great lesson.

PSYCHOANALYSIS AND NORMAL PSYCHOLOGY.¹

By T. H. PEAR, M.A., B.Sc.,

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A LITTLE more than a year ago Professor Sigmund Freud died in England. Most psychologists in this country have paid tribute to his memory in obituary notices. I express my homage this afternoon.

The fact that Freud spent his last days in London, not Vienna, is part of a sad chapter in history. Yet his stay in England may perhaps allow us to regard him as one of ourselves, and so to offer the criticism without which appreciation is empty. To-day I speak not of Freud's system but of some regions of normal psychology which his work illuminated richly but in patches.

He paid little attention to individual variations of mental contents. Seldom, for example, did he mention outstanding differences in imagery. In this respect he resembles the leaders of contemporary 'schools'; behaviourism and *Gestalt*. He may have visualised when thinking, but about the frequency, vividness and aptness of his imagery little is known. *The Interpretation of Dreams* contains a chapter in which the mind is compared to a system of lenses, though from this it is difficult to infer anything with certainty. He often assumed the imagery of dreams to be visual, yet many non-visual dreams occur, e.g. in the congenitally blind, and auditory and motor imagery are reported in the dreams of ordinary folk. Even if the entire hypothesis of the 'dream-work' be accepted, one cannot assume that it explains the union of non-visual images. Since the laws governing the fusion of colours and tones are not identical, those relating to the fusion of their imagery might differ.

Other subjects with which psychoanalysis is concerned might

¹ An elaboration of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 16th November, 1940.

be illuminated if more were known about the influence exerted upon different kinds of thinking by the particular type of imagery which underlies them.¹ When, engaged in difficult or irksome mental work, one is sustained by a 'guiding image' symbolising the goal (*Zielvorstellung* is too vague a synonym), does the type of sensation to which the image corresponds influence the efficacy of the thinking? If so, might this be true, not only of mental work, but of intense, discouraging physical exertion, like climbing a difficult peak? I speak for myself only, but when I clearly picture a person, place or thing which symbolises my aim, this 'beckoning' image seems to increase the duration, intensity and quality of my efforts.

This fact, by the way, is not urged as evidence that the visualiser has any functional advantage over the verbaliser, the motile or the imageless thinker, for too many discussions of imagery have been focused exclusively upon its utility.² In the older sciences this consideration is recognised as one amongst others. Zoologists do not condemn snakes as enemies of man, nor do physicists censure the *aurora borealis* as an unreliable reading-lamp. I believe that symbolic guiding-images affect the thinking of ordinary people. An image of a medal, for example, may stimulate athletic practice.

Dr. W. H. R. Rivers³ suggested that in the dream, the intensity of affect in the manifest content may vary inversely as the amount of transformation of the latent content. One might therefore speculate whether, when a desire or fear, unrealised in waking life, is fulfilled in the dream with little transformation, the intensity of the affect would be greater if the symbolic imagery were visual.

It is impossible to plan any experiment to decide this question, or a more general one; whether a predominant visualiser experiences desire, enthusiasm, disappointment or remorse more intensely, more frequently or longer than a verbaliser or an

¹ Cf. T. H. Pear, "Vehicles and Routes of Thought," *Discovery*, August, 1923.

² Cf. T. H. Pear, "The Place of Imagery in Mental Processes", this *Bulletin*, 1937, vol. 21,

³ *Conflict and Dream*, London, Kegan Paul.

imageless thinker. For many psychologists this is a sufficient reason to dismiss the problem. Yet it is important, since we urge people obsessed by some painful experience, to 'take it philosophically', i.e. by relating it to a wider background, to lessen its poignancy. May this, however, imply that a 'philosophical' person has attained such a power of abstraction that he *need* not image the experience? I have thought this possible since I studied a patient suffering from vivid, disturbing pseudo-hallucinations, symbolising different related tracts of his past experience.¹ Apprehension of a certain doctor's anger was 'carried' by an obtrusive image of a vein on his scalp, which, reddening with annoyance, showed up the vein. After the patient had been lent Galton's *Inquiry into Human Faculty* to support a reassuring conversation about the nature of visual imagery, he had a strikingly vivid image—almost certainly eidetic—of an ornamented letter 'P', which opened the relevant chapter.

I find it difficult to believe that this patient's mental conflicts, dramatically symbolised by pseudo-hallucinations, would have been emotionally so intense had he been an imageless thinker, for his images represented personal worries capable of being decreased by general considerations, and the philosophically trained mind rejoices in the abstract.

In an exchange of letters with me concerning imagery,² Professor Cyril Burt asked whether one may extend the belief "Out of sight, out of mind" into "Out of mental sight, out of mind"? Speaking for myself, a theme, place or person 'on my mind' is usually visualised. When the matter is 'done with', the appropriate image appears less frequently and loses most of its affective significance. Possibly for that reason, a change of locality, even of room, may lessen the distraction of a pleasant or unpleasant thought carried by a visual image, for articles of furniture may suggest persons as strongly as photographs do. Naturally, the most potent distraction is

¹ Professor E. Jaensch's writings were not then known to me. Cf. his *Eidetic Imagery*, London, Kegan Paul.

² Partly reproduced in T. H. Pear, *The Psychology of Conversation*, 1939, London, Nelson, pp. 67-73.

the sight of new, interesting people, and forgetting of significant, affectively-coloured experiences is easier if the persons or places in them differ little in appearance from those ordinarily encountered.

For example, my images of Swiss winter sports are numerous, vivid and—though the experiences they symbolise were seldom risky—exciting. For this there are special reasons. Memories of the brilliant sunshine, unusually impressive to a Mancunian, the picturesque costumes, the foreign mountains, houses, shops, food, language and manners, all decline to be superannuated. No laboratory material could evoke such zest in perceiving. Moreover, 'vivid', used by experimenters to indicate, for example, that a colour in a series is specially bright, or that a number is underlined, does not convey the excitement suffusing the 'Alpine' images.

Contrast with such memories the following. I worked about four years in this country and in Germany in hospitals for the mentally disordered. It was an interesting period of pleasant relationships. During it I was seldom acutely unhappy. Yet details—in particular, visual images—of those years seldom enter my mind. I realise in puzzled shame that the names of many people who were kind to me then have 'slipped my memory'. They have not been forgotten so seriously that they cannot be recalled except through hypnotism or psychoanalysis, but they never seem to visit my mind except as a result of a specific invitation and diligent dredging.

Why is this large tract of memory so quiescent? I think because its outstanding experiences were affectively 'unacceptable'. At the end of this period (1919) many people like myself wanted to make a fresh start. I was aware that, though labelled a psychologist, I knew little about healthy minds. As a result, I often sought the company of people who worked and played hard but thought little. Soon extraversion and mental health seemed almost synonymous, and my hospital data were put behind me, almost with the feeling "Goodbye to all that!" Often I felt I could have written some contribution to psychopathology, yet every time I began, the relevant memories came up with a characteristic 'done-with-ness'. They had not been

repressed but superseded, as when in an army an officer is replaced by someone more suitable.

Other factors increased this tendency to ignore the past. I had decided not to study for a medical degree. My data from military hospitals seemed one-sided, since many of the soldiers' mental conflicts had arisen out of the war. It would be insincere to omit that the hospitals were either German, or, if English, a result of the war. This might have countered the associative effect of my happy time in a friendly Germany. Repression, therefore, may have played its part. For obvious reasons, mental healers will hear few complaints of 'super-seded' memories. So Freud, a full-time psychotherapist, may not have realised the importance of 'supersession'.

A comment often made upon professional psychotherapists—not psychoanalysts only—is that they have few chances to know, still less to study, normal people intimately and sympathetically. And the psychotherapist's professional attitude, like that of the teacher, soldier or priest, tends to grow upon him. One psychological writer refers to the 'fault-finding outfit' of the average psychiatrist. The lack of psychological knowledge of our own culture-patterns is emphasised to-day by many sociological writers. If psychology is to fulfil its function, it must describe—the necessity for this is often forgotten—and explain the experience and behaviour of unintrospective folk who read the simpler newspapers, 'thrillers' and love-stories, are unsubtle in conversation, banter and bickering, accept uncritically the films offered them, enjoy public-houses, the 'dogs' and the speedway, express themselves painfully with a pen, writing few letters, suspect intellectuals and swallow slogans. To what extent Freudian forgettings occur in them is not known. It has been said that a psychoanalyst would find his technique unsuitable on the London Stock Exchange or in a Lancashire coal-mine, though it is fair to add that probably he has not tried it.

The detachment of psychoanalysts from the field of general psychology seems chiefly due to their one-sided interest in psychopathology. The results of psychoanalysis, useful in understanding psychoneurotic behaviour, seem, however, to

be applied too often unchanged to the interpretation of healthy mental processes. (This practice produces a 'sour' or an ultra-sophisticated attitude towards human beings; one which harmonises with the mood of many people to-day, though the mood is often influenced by the study of psychoanalysis.) As a result, the normal may appear to be 'explained' by the abnormal. Though some psychoanalysts use their terms restrictedly, others are less careful. By them, any marked tendency in one person to dominate others may be called 'sadism', in forgetfulness of that term's original meaning. Unselfishness, even habitual consideration for others, may be described as 'masochism', a strong sentiment for duty dubbed a 'guilt-complex', any modification of behaviour in the presence of a member of the opposite sex, termed 'sexual', keen-witted, zestful public service patronisingly called 'sublimation'. Even the half-jesting, half-adulatory way in which some intellectuals use these terms about each other, though a tribute to Freud's popularity, may distort their thinking. Aversion to 'soft-soaping' may influence descriptions which underline a man's unlikeable aspects, emphasise his weaknesses, portray his occasional snappiness rather than his even temper.¹ An orthopaedic expert might, for obvious reasons, be keenly interested in graceful movement, but few would entrust the direction of a ballet to him.

The quasi-detachment at which the psychoanalyst aims in relationships with his patient (often declining to meet him non-professionally) may be justifiable on technical grounds, but distorts comprehension of social contact between normal people.² Such sterilisation of friendliness, even of enmity, is paid for by a lack of sympathy. So we may doubt if normality can be profitably investigated from the side of abnormality, without many precautions. The study of mental health ought to throw light upon mental disability, but in their mute respect for psychoanalysis, few normal psychologists have helped in this way.

¹ This aspect of psychoanalysis has been criticised by Ian S. Suttie, *The Psychology of Love and Hate*, London, Kegan Paul.

² A famous chief of police, when asked why he had joined a rather unexclusive London club, replied that it was his only chance to meet the criminal classes on equal terms.

A sympathetically critical account of Freud's contribution to psychology has been given by Professor Edna Heidbreder.¹ I may be allowed to report her opinions, adding illustrations and comments.

It was not as a psychologist, she maintains, that Freud influenced psychology. Thus she directs attention to the fact that Freud, a doctor, interested in sick persons, showed little awareness of the current activities of non-medical psychologists. For example, his loose concept of 'wish', his omission to differentiate between attitude, sentiment and complex, his late production of that baffling concept, the 'Ego', can be likened to a horticulturist describing plant diseases without learning botanical terms.

Psychologists admit that the field which Freud explored is the one in which their efforts have been most fruitless.² But a motive leading to the encapsulation of other schools of psychology may have been a reaction to Freud's exclusiveness. As Heidbreder remarks: "He was utterly absorbed in the class of facts he had set himself to understand. A whole intellectual movement arose and developed in a field presumably related to his own, without even attracting his serious curiosity. Not only did he dispense with the help of psychologists; he seemed not to require the support and encouragement of his own profession. He had a complete trust in his own perceptions . . . it apparently did not occur to him that divergence from his opinion might be anything but error. He was ready to change his own theories when his own observations required it, but resented changes made by others, especially by his late followers."

¹ "Freud and Psychology," *Psychological Review*, 1940, vol. 47, pp. 185-196. In peace-time it is customary, before quoting the views of American authors, to request formal permission both from them and from their publishers. I feel sure they will realise that to writers now in England this presents insuperable difficulties if articles are to appear without serious delay. I hope that if full acknowledgment and thanks in advance are given here and now, this will be satisfactory.

² Cf. L. L. Thurstone, J. H. Leuba, K. S. Lashley, and J. Jastrow, "Contributions of Freudism to Psychology," *Psychological Review*, 1924, vol. 21, pp. 175-218.

Freud's psychology, she said, had an "obscure relevance to common knowledge. He invented both a mythology of the mental processes and a terminology in which to describe it. Their mingling is a source both of strength and confusion in the Freudian system."

One is tempted to add that the Censor and the Unconscious loom above and growl under us like a god and a devil; the Ego, Super-Ego and Id play into each other's hands, spoof, double-cross and compromise as in a detective novel.

Writing of psychoanalytic theory, Professor Gordon W. Allport says:—

It presents the problem of good and evil dramatized in new terms. In its simplicity it can be understood by the layman; he can participate in the objectified drama of his own conflicts, which has great therapeutic advantage. It is a fresh approach, free from the religious terms which as likely as not he has repudiated (probably because his own moral growing pains have been associated and entangled with religious sanctions and restrictions). He can accept these new terms without losing caste with himself or his contemporaries.¹

Allport remarks that a convert to psychoanalysis employs its terms as frequently as our grandmothers used terms from the Bible. He wonders if a child brought up by rigid psychoanalysts might not find fresh and helpful vigour in the dramatic terminology of good and evil of the older religions. Like Plato and the faculty psychologists, Freud divides personality into three arbitrarily conceived parts, the Id, the Super-Ego, and the Ego, which roughly may be translated as emotional impulse, conscience, and cognitive self-consciousness respectively. The mission of psychoanalysis is to strengthen the Ego, by making it more cognisant of the forces of the Super-Ego and of the Id. Psychoanalysis aims primarily at the reclamation of the Id by the Ego.

Freud knew that most people—not always the naïve or uneducated—prefer to think in terms of concrete situations. This may arise from the desire, when a general statement is encountered, to test it in the light of one's personal experience; not necessarily from an inability to grasp such assertions. Prodiggally Freud scattered symbols, analogies and metaphors

¹ *Personality, A Psychological Interpretation*, London, Constable.

in his writings, and so many readers understood, or believed they understood, his concepts. As Heidebreder points out, this habit was a source of strength because it used the mode of thought which human beings find easiest and most effective, and of confusion because it encouraged reification, making things out of mere thoughts. This is one of the recent events in psychology which suggest the question, "Can products of the imagination be transformed into scientific concepts?"

Early in the life of psychoanalysis it was remarked that until Freud came, psychologists had seemed to be interested in anything but human beings. Matters have now improved in this respect; one qualification, however, remains. As Allport points out,¹ since psychoanalysis, in prolonged sessions, examines single persons, it would seem at first sight to be a true science of individuality. But it fails to fulfil all the requirements for such a science, for these reasons:—

(1) Like general psychology, it is preoccupied with the search for universal causes. The properties of the unconscious, it holds, are archaic and therefore the same for all people. The desires of the infant, his fixations, joys, fears, and the stages of development through which he passes are prescribed; the three-fold division of the self: the super-ego, the ego, and the id permit no variation; the behaviour of people follows a conceptualized standard and has essentially uniform significance.

(2) Psychoanalysis is doctrinaire. The System is sacrosanct. Its design is traced upon the patient, and then—*mirabile dictu*—is discovered to exist there.

(3) Psychoanalysis is not eclectic; it has made virtually no contact with any other branch of psychology.

Allport, going further than Heidebreder, describes the metaphors of psychoanalysis as 'somewhat fantastic', claiming that it has profited little from the antecedent labours of psychology. This theme could be supported by many examples from works in the English language alone, even from books written in England. The writings of William McDougall, C. S. Myers, W. H. R. Rivers, G. F. Stout, and James Ward have been noticed as little by psychoanalysts as by Gestalt psychologists, to whose work these books were also relevant. Sir Francis Galton's *Inquiry Into Human Faculty*,² June E.

¹ *Personality, A Psychological Interpretation*, p. 12.

² London, Dent.

Downey's *Creative Imagination*,¹ J. Livingston Lowes' *The Road to Xanadu*,² and Robert Graves' contributions to the subject of poetic imagination, *On English Poetry*,³ *The Meaning of Dreams*,⁴ and *Poetic Unreason and Other Studies*,⁵ appear to have been unnoticed. Yet psychoanalysts themselves ought to admit the importance of creative imagination, for it plays no small part in their own work.

Several of these books express the idea that the processes of the 'dream-work' have analogues in day-time consciousness.⁶ There may be infinite gradation between the clearest waking thought and the clotted images of which a visualiser becomes aware when suddenly aroused from deep sleep. Too little attention has been given to the possibility that the type of dream which psychoanalysts usually examine may characterise light sleep only.⁷ Such a dream, remembered after waking naturally, might be more closely connected with current events than the dream of deep sleep, but less intimately than the day-dream.⁸

'Conditioning', learning, recalling and forgetting have been studied alongside, but not in contact with psychoanalysis. Psychology to-day is short of bridge-builders. Though liaison between subjects is out of fashion, it may be necessitated after the War.⁹

In experimental psychology Freud took little interest, setting the fashion among his followers; Professor J. C. Flügel being a notable exception in this respect. Like Pavlov, Freud laboured for a lifetime, producing results of psychological importance, yet seldom showing awareness of the lines along which psychology was developing. Experimentalists seem to have returned the compliment. Even after 1910, when Freud's visit to Clark University made his work widely known, experimental

¹ London, Kegan Paul.

² London, Constable.

³ 1922, London, Heinemann.

⁴ 1924, London, Cecil Palmer.

⁵ 1925, *ibid.*

⁶ Cf. pp. 44-68 of the present writer's *Remembering and Forgetting*, 1922, London, Methuen.

⁷ Cf. F. Hacker, "Systematische Traumbeobachtungen mit besonderen Berücksichtigung der Gedanken," *Archiv für die gesamte Psychologie*, 1911, xxi.

⁸ Cf. J. Varendonck, *The Psychology of Day-Dreams*, London.

⁹ Cf. T. H. Pear, "The 'Trivial' and 'Popular' in Psychology," *British Journal of Psychology*, 1940, October.

investigators of remembering (there have been few experimental investigators of forgetting, in Freud's sense) have shown scant sympathy with and often little appreciation of the psychoanalytic point of view. One reason for this may be that they often restricted their material to nonsense syllables—who *could* be expected to feel poignant emotion at recalling 'bef' or 'wup'?—diagrams and diagrammatic pictures. For this asceticism there are psychological reasons, some arising from the requirements of scientific method, others reflecting a particular 'culture-pattern', or the social, even the economic forces behind psychology. It is difficult for some academic minds to realise without a violent jerk that for most people, apprehending a diagram as compared with recognising a face or human form, is an unusual action. Intelligent children may be, and most uneducated adults are bored by diagrams. Now when Freud wrote about remembering, he usually referred to the recall of unusually interesting experiences. 'Forgotten' events of the kind which he preferred to study, had, he maintained, been coloured by an emotion which caused them to be repressed, and kept in exile by 'resistance'. The material used by many experimenters might have been specially chosen to exclude the influence of those very factors which Freud considered important.

A personal note may illustrate this. I recently studied accounts of some memory-experiments. Though I am specially interested in memory, I found the diagrams so dull that only a stern self-reminder that I was preparing a lecture about this subject could make them hold my attention. This may seem a discreditable confession, but I have never believed that because psychological material captivates the investigator—often himself a lover of philosophy or mathematics—who chooses it, it must equally interest the 'subject'. The limitations imposed by many experimenters upon their memory-material may therefore remove it from the restricted area in which the psychoanalyst thinks.

Professor F. C. Bartlett has criticised the use of nonsense syllables in memory experiments.¹ For his own investigations

¹ *Remembering*, Cambridge University Press.

he chose significant pictures and stories resembling those of everyday life. Yet one may guess that over the subject's perception even of these, 'laboratory-calm' might have reigned. It is real names, people and conversations which are usually subject to Freudian forgetting. So it would seem that his experiments and some of those carried out under Professor Kurt Koffka¹ cast no light upon Freud's theory. If the reply be made—as it well might—that they were not meant to do so, this would be more evidence of the gulf between psychoanalysis and experimental psychology.

All the same, Freudian forgettings, though they may not lend themselves easily to quantitative treatment, are important subjects for investigation, as Dr. S. Rosenzweig and Gwendolyn Mason have shown.²

Elsewhere,³ I have described observations upon the recall of radio-plays. Though these are not strict experiments, since their conditions were not completely controlled, their results suggest ways in which some experiments might be modified. These observations had two advantages; the subject-matter was emotionally significant and the images providing the 'actors' and 'scenery' in the play were hurriedly evoked. Thus, perhaps, they were less fused with their memory-background than those recalled with a longer warning.

The immediate cause of the images observed was the hearing of a radio-play, *Rupert of Hentzau*. The piece was 'enjoyed'⁴ almost naturally. Knowledge that the memory of it would later be observed psychologically could not be excluded, but its interference seemed slight. About twelve hours later, after a night's sleep, I recalled the images which had accompanied the hearing of the play. They showed the effects of 'condensation' and 'selection with regard for presentability' which,

¹ Described in *Principles of Gestalt Psychology*, 1935, London, Kegan Paul.

² "An Experimental Study of Memory in Relation to the Theory of Repression," *British Journal of Psychology*, 1934, xxiv, 247-265 (with brief bibliography).

³ With Madeline Kerr, "Unseen Drama and Imagery," *British Journal of Psychology*, 1931. Cf. also *Voice and Personality*, 1931, London, Chapman & Hall, pp. 95-104, and "The Place of Imagery in Mental Processes," *BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY*, 1937, vol. 21.

⁴ The word is used in Professor Samuel Alexander's sense, 'lived through'.

Freud maintains, occur in the unconscious working-up of retained experiences, so that they may form the manifest content of a dream. But the ease with which, after free-association, the original constituents of such fused images emerged from their 'matrices' suggests that some of them, at least, were less firmly embedded in past experience than dream images are. For example, the fusion of visual images (from Schönbrunn, Würzburg and Mittelharnis) which occurred immediately when in the play a dangerous avenue was mentioned, had presumably happened only a few hours before my analytic introspection, and it dissociated like a mosaic, disturbed before the adhesive substance was dry.

It is impossible to ascertain when any particular images in a dream came together during the 'dream-work' if, as Freud maintains, it occupies hours or days, but in radio-play observations, such a time can be fixed with an error of a few minutes or even less. This offers advantages to the investigator.

Such observations differ from conventional memory experiments in that their material can usually be assumed to interest and even to excite the subject. This result is not easy to achieve in laboratories, where crude practical jokes or emotional suggestions under hypnosis represents the limits to which in their efforts to produce excitement, experimenters have ventured. In contrast with dreams, the evocative material in radio-plays is known to the experimenter. If desired, it could be preserved on a gramophone record. It would even be possible to write a radio-play with an eye to special psychological effects. Such investigations are bridges between the study of the night-dream, the day-dream and various forms of creative imagination.

Connected with the last-named problems, as June E. Downey showed,¹ are those of synæsthesia. Information about these phenomena has usually been obtained by merely asking a person what happens when, for example, he experiences 'coloured hearing'. It is possible, by using the gramophone, to offer him striking sound-patterns (voices and music) likely to encourage synæsthesia. This causes perceptual, not imaginal

¹ *Creative Imagination*, London, Kegan Paul.

experience, ensuring, too, that it is vivid and produced in controlled conditions.¹

Connected with creative imagination, in ways of which little is known, is the subject of rumour. Wish-fulfilments, dramatisation, condensation and rationalisation may combine in producing it. Semi-pathological aspects of social life; the tendencies to invent, believe or transmit rumours, have been the themes of contributions to the study of propaganda,² yet few have tried to discover how the beliefs of ordinary people are affected by certain processes described by psychoanalysts. 'Secondary elaboration' and 'regard for presentability', for example, probably enter into everyday thinking. This subject seems to have interested Jung³ more than Freud. It is usually studied with complete neglect of psychoanalytic findings.

In 1922 I attempted a brief survey of forgetting, and compared the ways in which it had been regarded by experimental psychologists and psychoanalysts respectively.⁴ The gulf between these types of worker is still wide, so that a summary of this account may not be out of place.

Before Freud's time, investigators of memory tried to discover how we can remember. Under his influence some have thought that the real goal was to explain how, once we have had an experience, we can ever forget it.

Before Freud most psychologists, placing cognition in the foreground of their programme, and impressed by the results of experiment, regarded learning as merely the associating of ideas. Accordingly, forgetting was interpreted as due to diminished strength in, or the complete decay of 'bonds'. 'Curves of forgetting' for one kind of material were believed by some to have general validity, the possibility of great individual differences being disregarded. Since the material used for early memory experiments had been squeezed dry of as much meaning as possible, the important effect of varying

¹ Madeline Kerr and T. H. Pear, "Synæsthetic Factors in the Judgment of Voices," *Brit. Jour. of Psychology*.

² Cf. L. W. Doob, *Propaganda, its Psychology and Technique*, 1935, New York, Holt; and R. S. Lambert, *Propaganda*, 1938, London, Nelson.

³ Cf. C. G. Jung, *Psychology of the Unconscious*, London, Kegan Paul.

⁴ *Remembering and Forgetting*, pp. 134-177.

interest was assumed—with incomplete justification—to be excluded by the experimental conditions.

Guided by such theoretical beliefs, the experimentalist, if asked, "What are the chief factors which bring about the recall of a past experience?", would have answered, "Other things being equal, its 'vividness' or emphasis, the frequency of its occurrence, its recency, and the temporal or spatial position which it may have occupied in a series". Such a reply, however, throws no light upon the common kind of remembering in which other things are *not* equal. It ignores an important factor in remembering relevance. Of relevance there are two kinds, logical and affective, though between them no hard and fast line can be drawn.

The experimentalist, believing that most forgetting concerned insignificant matters, assumed that all 'unimportant' events (i.e. so judged by him but not necessarily by his subject) would inevitably be forgotten. Psychoanalysts, however, suggested that some such experiences might be remembered because they were 'unconsciously important'; i.e. associated with some significant experience, though the nature of the bond was unknown. Persons or objects perceived by chance may stir up memory-traces which otherwise would never have regained awareness. The urgent desirability of recollecting some fact may lead to surprising success in this direction. The admitted possibility of dredging up surprising memories in dreams, hypnosis and psychoanalysis makes it difficult for us to assert with conviction that we have forgotten anything. Much material learnt in laboratories might be forgotten because to the learner himself it was insignificant. Occasionally, however, it acquires an unusual 'unnatural' meaning, because the subject knows that it is being learnt to advance psychology and to oblige the experimenter.

I still remember the first three 'nonsense' syllables in a series learnt when I was a student. Were they nonsense? If so, they were impressive nonsense, being unusual, presented with an imposing mechanism, by an admired teacher, under the auspices of a university. If I had continued for weeks to learn syllables like these, they would have lost some of their adventitious impressiveness, but would it all have vanished?

The 'slips of memory' emphasised by Freud differ from those studied by experimentalists. Freudian forgettings are often temporary, apparently capricious, and concern matters important to the forgetter. Such 'everyday' forgettings and functional amnesias (losses of vast tracts of past experience) are due to exclusion of events from awareness, not to their complete loss.

Freud's concept of repression is too well known to require detailed description here. Medical psychologists employ it to explain amnesias, but experimental investigators of 'forgetting' have seldom explained what they mean by the term. This is an example of the tacit division of psychology into 'medical' and 'non-medical'; a dichotomy less justifiable than 'normal' and 'abnormal', and a serious menace to psychology.

Few workers, either from the side of psychoanalysis or from that of normal psychology, have considered the relation of repression to attention. Attending to a thing obviously involves attending away from something-else. William James expressed this in the famous passage about "the mental objects which, for the time being, will not develop". They simply "*go out*". There are subjects which all of us shun; others which we shy at for personal reasons. If such inhibitions became semi-permanent they would be the conscious acts which Freud subsumes under repression, though he laid more stress upon the unconscious ones, about which it is harder to obtain evidence, since they are not open to ordinary introspection.

Normal psychologists, when they write about forgetting, seldom mention the forgetting of dreams. Some would maintain that since many dreams are incoherent, illogical and incomplete one might not expect them to be recalled as readily as 'satisfactory' complete memories. Yet the manifest content of many dreams seems complete, and interest in it is guaranteed in advance, so there are probably special factors which favour its being forgotten. Moreover, even after a dream has been recorded it is often forgotten. Now the recording was not performed in a dreaming but in a waking state. Furthermore, a forgotten dream may have been partially analysed, and this

usually presupposes clear awareness. It seems proved therefore that the forgetting of dreams deserves special attention.

Interesting problems are presented by the varying degrees of convincingness which certain parts of Freud's dream-theory present to different psychologists. Assertions about symbolism and condensation of visual imagery were easily verified by me, since I had often experienced these happenings in waking life, but the statement that puns often form the core of a dream seemed more debatable. My mind seldom plays with superficial associations by similarity of sound, possibly because of poor auditory, as compared with rich visual, imagery. Puns (even Thomas Hood's and W. S. Gilbert's) bore me. But associations by sound-similarity occur in my dreams, and presumably, therefore, are formed unconsciously. The unconscious, after all, is less fastidious than consciousness.

Neglect to consider the different roles which imagery from various senses plays in the dream-work needs no special explanation: it is an example of the general neglect of imagery by psychologists.

In *Remembering and Forgetting* (pp. 164-177) I suggested that forgotten experiences may be provisionally classified under the following headings:—

(1) *Embodied*—

(a) apparently insignificant;

(b) significant, but completely congruous with the self.¹

(2) *Exiled*.

(3) *Superseded or Retired*.

I accept here the view that forgetting the really insignificant—e.g. the number of your bus ticket, which, with no special interest in numbers, you idly noticed ten years ago—requires no particular explanation. Few psychologists, however, have studied the forgetting of experiences significant but congruous with the self. For example, when I lived in London I ate many restaurant meals. I remember details of only a few, and this is not surprising. But I can recall, in vivid visual imagery, many meals eaten abroad. These would probably be forgotten

¹ I now prefer this word in this connexion to 'personality'.

by natives of these countries. I 'forget' more events of English holidays than of those spent elsewhere, of conversations with Englishmen than of those with foreigners. The reason seems to be the congruity or incongruity with that system of memories which is part of the background of my Self.

Taking many things in life for granted—thus preserving placidity, serenity and dullness—contributes to forgetting. The causes of this kind of forgetting appear to be the sentiments. Their relation to forgetting has seldom been considered.

Superseded experiences have been neglected by most psychologists, who, being human, 'naturally' ignore them, not seeing the psychological interest of the fact that an experience has become *uninteresting*. The attainment of mental perspective, a feature of maturation, involves 'growing-out' of certain tastes.¹ If the superseded memories are revived casually they may be viewed with detachment, as when, grown-up, we chance to see our name in an old school magazine. But often our attitude is more complicated: tinged with an almost voluntary coolness. Against such a memory the door of consciousness is not banged, but closed slowly, perhaps reluctantly, but definitely. We have 'done with' the experience, whatever it once meant to us, of joy, pride or affection. "Goodbye to all that!" A man's memories from the time when he was excited by Mendelssohn's music, Leighton's pictures, Tennyson's poetry, when his desires were simpler, his social poise less—these may arouse, not fear, shame or disgust, but a mild repugnance. Only a needy man willingly relights a burnt cigarette.

Now patients seldom seek out a psychotherapist because they feel this attitude towards obsolete memories. What is wrong with their memories is that they are not obsolete, and it is often the psychotherapist's aim to make them so. The integration of socially desirable sentiments, necessary for the formation of character, may require the forgetting of undesirable things, and hence may involve repression. But admitting this implies that repression may affect sentiments as well as complexes. The fusion of an integrated character may be made closer when

¹ Cf. G. W. Allport, *op. cit.*; and T. H. Pear, *The Maturing Mind*, 1938, London, Nelson.

its integrity is threatened by invasion, either from a repressed experience or from a superseded memory which has received new life from an unexpected association.

I trust that this mention of ways in which psychoanalysts have not co-operated with normal psychologists will not appear as a list of sins of omission. Freud was not interested in these aspects of psychology, and this may have been one reason for his followers' lack of enthusiasm in these directions. When we turn, however, to modern social psychology, we find that psychoanalysis is criticised from another direction, even accused of sins of commission. The recent desire to evaluate and interpret the activities not only of psychologists, but of scientists in general, in terms of their 'culture-patterns' (upon which I have commented in preceding Rylands lectures) has naturally extended to the study of psychoanalysis. Freud (and, though this is irrelevant to the present lecture, Jung and Adler) display the influence of their different culture-patterns.

This limitation of Freud's psychology is discussed by Dr. Karen Horney in *New Ways in Psychoanalysis*.¹ She scrupulously points out that when Freud was developing his psychological system, present knowledge concerning the influence of his own culture-pattern upon an individual's development was not available. And some may think that Dr. Horney over-emphasises the rôle of culture factors, in her distrust of the 'instinct-hypothesis'.

Freud, wedded to the belief that each of us is relatively imprisoned in a harness of instincts, ultimately similar in nature, regarded the mental conflicts characterising the psychoneuroses as instinctual trends, modified only by the individual environment, not as primarily engendered by the conditions under which we live. Accordingly, Freud believes the peculiar experience and behaviour of the middle-class neurotic of Western civilisation to be inherent in human nature. Dr. Horney reminds us that this type is characterised by great potential hostility, a much greater readiness and capacity for hate than for love, by emotional isolation and a tendency to egocentrism. Such a person is ready to withdraw from others, acquisitive, entangled

¹ London, 1939, Kegan Paul, pp. 168 ff.

in problems concerning possession and prestige. She might have added that since the medical practitioner usually depends upon fees from private patients, his own *milieu* is one in which continual attempts at acquisition are regarded not only as necessary but as natural and praiseworthy.

Freud did not recognise that such trends are ultimately caused by the conditions of a specific social structure. Even the mass-phenomena of culture are explained by him on an instinctual basis. Wars are determined by an inherent destructive instinct, cultural achievements in general are regarded as sublimation of libidinal drives.

He views it as incidental that a brother in the family is preferred to the sister, yet a preference for male children belongs to the pattern of a patriarchal society. Similarly, rivalry between members of the same family may be determined by the competitiveness of our culture. Freud believes that one of the prices we pay for cultural benefits is repression, dissatisfaction and unhappiness. He who can enjoy both culture and himself, does so because he has achieved sublimation. Freud assumes a quantitative relation between the degree of repression imposed by a culture and the frequency or severity of the ensuing neuroses. But though this might be true of certain instances, the relation between culture and neuroses, Horney urges,¹ is not quantitative but qualitative, depending upon *which* urges are dissatisfied, in *which* cultures. Clearly sociologists, anthropologists and psychoanalysts can co-operate fruitfully upon this problem.

Nowadays such criticism of psychotherapists and psychiatrists is to be expected. In different ways Mr. Wilfred Trotter, Professor William Stern and Professor Karl Mannheim have pointed out that psychiatry (using that term in its broadest sense) is often pivoted on one type of culture-pattern, assumed to be desirable, even permanent. Little insight is needed to discern acute criticism of this situation in *Erewhon* by Samuel Butler, who showed his own scars in *The Way of All Flesh*. Margaret Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa* and *Growing Up in New Guinea* and Frankwood Williams' *Mental Hygiene in the U.S.S.R.* present evidence that the psychoneuroses cannot

¹ In *The Neurotic Personality of Our Time*, 1937, London, Kegan Paul.

be explained without considering the physical, economic and social environments which supply the repressive forces.¹ The older view of adolescence as a period of 'natural' storm and stress is rivalled by another. It regards some hurdles in life's race which youth has been expected to clear as unnecessarily high and the presence of others as an indictment of existing social standards. 1920-1940, the period during which youth has enjoyed unusual social freedom, ended by putting the young into a greater bondage than ever. Some critics of Freud, Adler for example, do not exempt him from the charge of increasing the world's militancy by his doctrine of freed *Libido*; a thorny subject which cannot be discussed here.

It is not surprising that psychoanalysis has been criticised from the standpoint of party politics, as for example, by Francis H. Bartlett in *Sigmund Freud, a Psychological Study*,² and Christopher Caudwell in *Studies in a Dying Culture*.³ They regard Freud as mentally enmeshed in the economic patterns of the middle of the nineteenth century.

The relation between sentiments (in McDougall's sense of the word) and complexes does not seem to have been satisfactorily stated by psychoanalysts, perhaps because people who have normal sentiments seldom visit mind-healers. Professor Raymond B. Cattell has recently revived the topic.⁴ He asks, "How far is it possible to speak of unconscious attitudes or sentiments?" thus preparing us for the serious complications which the use of the word 'attitude' by American psychologists has brought about.⁵ He continues: "Two or three decades ago, when an overlapping usage of the *essentially different* concepts 'sentiment' and 'complex' threatened psychology with confusion . . . *chaos was avoided by a happy agreement between psychiatrists and psychologists*"⁶ to restrict 'complex' to un-

¹ Cf. also Dr. A. H. Maslow's "Personality and Patterns of Culture"; a chapter in Ross Stagner, *Psychology of Personality*, 1937, London, McGraw-Hill.

² London, Gollancz.

³ London, Lane.

⁴ "Sentiment or Attitude? The Core of a Terminology Problem in Personality Research," *Character and Personality*, 1940, ix. 1, p. 11.

⁵ Cf. G. W. Allport's chapter (17) on "Attitudes", in *Handbook of Social Psychology*, ed. by C. Murchison, 1935, London, Humphrey Milford.

⁶ Italics mine.

conscious and 'sentiment' to conscious structures. With this primary difference there were naturally associated dependent differences, e.g. the more anti-social nature of the complex motives; the comparatively loose, unfocused and unintegrated nature of the complex; the comparatively great extension and interrelation with other sentiments of each element in the network of sentiments." I think the agreement was unhappy and did much to bring about the present chaos. But the meanings attached to these words are best understood by looking for their psychological context.

The concept of sentiment grew up in the tidy gardens of normal psychology, under the loving care of two men—who, like many good horticulturists, were Scots domiciled in England—Alexander F. Shand and William McDougall. This fact is relevant to the lack of integration between normal psychology and psychoanalysis. Shand and McDougall belonged to a sentimental nation, and their writings show an acute appreciation of the place of sentiment in psychology. Shand had no leanings towards medical practice, and though McDougall was medically qualified and worked in the military hospitals during 1914-1918 his chief interests were seldom in therapy. To a medical reader who may consider these remarks derogatory, I would plead that we do not expect leading physicists to show a special bent towards repairing machines, or particular interest in them when they break down, and that to appreciate love it is not necessary to have specialised in the study of pathological hatred. Perhaps these two writers showed more understanding than many psycho-pathologists of how the ordinary person thinks and acts in everyday situations. McDougall's master-sentiments were exhibited in his books, and he cared not who knew it. He refers, for example, in his autobiography,¹ to his 'arrogant nature'.

The concept of 'complex', in contrast, was born and grew up in a hospital for the mentally disordered. Though when it matured its name was admitted to non-medical dictionaries, and Alfred Adler did much to popularise it, it still carries, for most people, a medical flavour.

¹ *History of Psychology in Autobiography*, ed. C. Murchison, London, Humphrey Milford.

It must be difficult for many honest minds in the midst of war to make a sharp division between sentiments and complexes. In a socially stratified country like England, for example, many a citizen has strong sentiments for people of his own social class, even if he sincerely hopes (though some do not) that peace will alter the boundaries between social strata. Yet the results of evacuation, which violently introduced the poorer to the richer classes, the bombing of non-enlisted people, the enforced mutual proximity of strangers in public air-raid shelters, the granting of commissions in the fighting services, all underline the existing facts of British social stratification. People who are free from complexes about these circumstances may be unusually tolerant; more probably they are ill-informed. To call the concepts of 'sentiment' and 'complex' 'essentially different' begs the question. Hatred of the enemy, for example, may in one person be a sentiment, in another a complex, and in a third either at different times.

Social chaos can be temporarily avoided by drawing arbitrary lines and using force to ensure that they are respected. The line between sentiments and complexes seems to be an imitation *cordon sanitaire*, respected far too obediently by normal psychologists. I suggest that the 'happy' agreement between psychiatrists and psychologists was not even an agreement to differ. It was a mere pact of non-aggression, strictly kept during the last twenty years by both sides. I doubt, too, if 'complex' was regularly restricted to unconscious and 'sentiment' to conscious structures. For McDougall defined sentiment as "an organization of emotional *dispositions* grouped about the idea of an object" and insisted that we never experience a sentiment, but only the emotions which result from the activation of these dispositions. The warmth which I enjoy from my overcoat was made possible by a particular organisation of dispositions in a certain bank. I enjoy the warmth, not the bank. When you are angered because someone you love is insulted, you feel actual anger because of your sentiment of love.

Freud's thrusts under the pedestal of the god of Reason were so persistent that few scholars could be blind to the growing structure of psychoanalytic theory. His success, perhaps,

caused normal psychologists for a time to neglect the rôle of conscious motives. To-day, when everyone admits the significance of "repressed motives and latent dispositions", writers like Gordon W. Allport urge that the roots of most of our personal motives and traits are not in the unconscious. "Traits and interests, like plants, are capable of casting aside the shell of the seed from which they grew. Their direction of growth is upward into the future, and not downwards into the past."¹ 'Functional autonomy' may here be seen at work; activities which once arose from unconscious sources may continue, motivated by forces which have added their drive to the original ones.

A man may learn a sport or hobby, offer himself for public services, or join an adult educational class for motives sometimes unconnected with the game or work. These may be fear of loneliness, desire to find a wife, commercial or social ambition. But the activity, once tried and liked, may be continued for other reasons. One may be the attractiveness of the pursuit itself, but others, more powerful, may assert themselves. The new recruit, though he may prove a poor golfer or essay-writer, may shine as secretary of the club or class. Some volunteers for air-raid precautions have liked many aspects of the preparations for their grim duties. Some persons who joined the army have found for the first time a type of social grouping in which their talents were useful.

Examples of powerful, if subordinate, motives inside a particular sphere of activity could be multiplied: e.g. a man takes up writing 'for fun', discovers that he can produce books which sell, and while hunting up facts to provide material for more publications finds that the search is as absorbing as the subsequent elaboration of its results.

Freud's mythological representation of the unconscious which offers such double-edged advantages for purposes of exposition, is attracting critics. For example, Christopher Caudwell claims that Freud has not taken his own doctrine of the unconscious seriously enough.² He does not seem to have realised that, since the technique of psychoanalysis itself is

¹ *Personality*. (See index for numerous references to 'functional autonomy'.)

² *Studies in a Dying Culture*, p. 168. (I have taken the liberty of paraphrasing this account slightly.)

formulated by conscious processes, all unconscious phenomena must necessarily appear in the light which consciousness throws upon them. Consequently they are viewed, not as causal phenomena with the same physiological basis as consciousness and ultimately homogeneous with it, but as wicked demons bursting into the neat ordered world of consciousness. Unconscious 'influences' causing perturbations in the conscious world are given rude names by Freud, who treats them as 'distortions'. So might the treble part in music regard the bass; as distortion by some primitive unconscious. Caudwell speculates that if a psychology were written from the point of view of the *unconscious*, the conscious experiences, instead of the unconscious 'instincts', would now play the part of energetic imprisoned demons distorting or inhibiting the stability and simple life of the inborn responses. And he alleges that when Freud comes to treat civilisation and man as a whole, he swings over to this point of view. It is now experience or consciousness (culture) which thwarts or distorts the unconscious (instincts). Naturally, therefore, Freud's doctrine contains a dualism; the conception of unconscious and conscious as eternal antagonists, and this cannot be resolved.

"Freud recognised the importance of mental maturation, of the self learning to fit into a socialised *milieu*, yet the maturing of the normal mind is a far more complex process than simply redirecting the aim of originally unallowable wishes. And sex in normal life never stands alone, it is tied to all manner of personal images, sanctions, interests, ambitions, codes and ideals."¹ As Francis H. Bartlett points out,² our starting-point is the *dependence* of the child upon its family for the necessities of life, particularly nourishment. Out of this relation of care on the one hand and dependence on the other arise the affectionate sentiments of the child.

You will have seen that even criticism of Freud is expressed in ways which would have been impossible had he not set his contemporaries thinking about vital problems. I have merely drawn attention to a few unworked fields in the penumbra of his searchlight.

¹ Allport, *op. cit.*

² *Op. cit.*

TEMPLE AND TORAH :
SUGGESTING AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE GRAF-WELLHAUSEN
HYPOTHESIS.¹

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THE word torah with a small *t* means in Hebrew, teaching. Torah with a capital *T* is the name given by the Hebrews to the first five books of the Old Testament or the Pentateuch as scholars usually call them. In the Torah combined with other literary elements are found the earliest traditions and the religious legislation by which the whole lives of the Israelites have been and are controlled. And let me say here that the word translated Lord in our English versions of the Old Testament is the Hebrew word Yahweh. It is used by scholars not for pedantic reasons but to avoid the free use of the name Lord with its deep reverential associations.

It is no part of our purpose to give here a history of Old Testament criticism as it concerns the Pentateuch. The history is well known and its results generally recognised. It suffices to say that since about the year 1878 there has been one hypothesis regarding the composition of the Pentateuch which has dominated all others, and in spite of all attacks is still the regnant hypothesis. According to this hypothesis, with which are associated the names of the German scholars Graf and Wellhausen, the Pentateuch consists basically of four documents: (1) a document known for convenience as *J* because of its use of the name Yahweh for God, emanating from Judah and dating from about 850 B.C.; (2) a document called *E*, characterised by its use of the name Elohim for God, emanating from Ephraim,

¹ A lecture delivered at the John Rylands Library on the 12th of March, 1941.

and its date about 750 B.C. ; (3) the book of Deuteronomy, called for convenience *D*, forming the program for Josiah's reform, and composed about that time (c. 622 B.C.) and for that purpose ; (4) a document created by or at least under the influence of the exilic priesthood, and hence called the Priestly Code, or *P*, forming in general the framework into which the other documents were fitted, and composed between 500 and 450 B.C.

The Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis has been attacked most frequently on the point of both the Priestly Code and Deuteronomy, but recent criticism has centred largely on Deuteronomy and its origin. The theory that it was the book found in the Temple and given to King Josiah is not new. It dates back to the period of the Church Fathers when Athanasius was one of the first to suggest it. In 1805 it was revised by the O.T. scholar, De Wette, who, however, introduced the suggestion of forgery since he held that Deuteronomy was a book composed at the time of Josiah, but given the authority of a Mosaic document. It was this conception of Deuteronomy which was incorporated in their scheme of things by the founders of the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis. Naturally various attempts have been made to cleanse the document and its author from the stain of deceit. The author, it is argued, was but following the literary practice of his age in making free use without acknowledgment of ancient materials which had come to him as Mosaic traditions, and so on. The age of possible authorship has been extended by the critics to the reign of Hezekiah or of Manasseh. The possible authors have been increased in number. Welch and Oestreicher have refused to confine the 'centralisation of worship', the outstanding feature of Deuteronomy, to worship at a single centre, and hence see no reason why Deuteronomy should be closely linked with the reform of Josiah. Hölscher and Kennett and their followers argue for a much later date than Josiah. And so the battle of the critics ebbs and flows.

The weakness of the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis does not lie in its documentary analysis of the Pentateuch. That the Pentateuch is composed of several documents no one who has studied it carefully and examined the evidence of the critics,

will venture to deny. The evidence of the Pentateuch, both textual and internal, gives no suggestion of exact dating, unless some archaisms in the text and certain historical allusions be taken as an indication that the date of composition is earlier rather than later. The range of dating suggested by learned critics would seem to bear this out. Thus König can put the date of *E* at 1200 B.C., *J* at about 1000 and *D* at 700 to 650, whilst Dillmann can place *P* as early as 800 to 700. The fact that such dates, so much earlier than those of the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis, can be suggested and supported by famous scholars may be held to be sufficient proof of our contention. The chief weakness of the documentary hypothesis would seem to be rather in the foundations on which it rests. Its whole background implies, and its exponents also imply, that behind the composition of the Pentateuch there has been an extended and intricate process of literary drafting and editorship. In our search for the documents we are introduced under its guidance to a literary world in which we meet with a variety of authors and compilers. Copyists in their weak moments make errors in the text. Redactors rectify and manipulate. Glossators annotate in the margins, and we have all the paraphernalia of literary record and dissemination in the manuscript age.

But all this, or at least very much of it, is a reflex of the age of the printing press, of independent authors, of editors, of editions of books and of their publication and acceptance by a reading public. But is it conceivable that a religious community even in the present day could adopt as their sacred Scriptures documents which they are left to select in the haphazard way implied by the critics? Scholars, who speak easily of documents and fragments of documents being fused, incorporated, interpolated, interwoven and the whole edited and accepted as Holy Writ as if such were a commonplace operation, seem to forget that in the Pentateuch we are dealing with the very core of Hebrew religious life. It is so easy to fall into the error of imagining that the circulation of such a document even if limited to priestly circles, would promote appreciation of its spiritual value and its consequent acceptance as Scripture. But religious communities and sects do not act in this way. Scriptures,

creeds and confessions of faith do not drift into acceptance through literary merit alone. Yet no Old Testament critic seems to have offered to explain how the diverse documents of the Pentateuch which they discover or create, acquired their sanctity and authority. But surely this is of the very essence of the whole matter.

In what follows I cover such a wide field that I may seem to you to be making many rash assumptions, but I must ask you to believe that although in this broad survey I do not supply the evidence at every step I have nevertheless given it careful consideration.

How then did the Torah originate? That much of the legislative part, in essence at least, goes back to Moses, is highly probable. But we have in the Torah a number of legal codes and collections of laws which include the same or similar enactments. The explanation of this phenomenon is probably to be sought in the number of shrines at which Yahweh was worshipped throughout Palestine after the Entry. Each would have its legislative code traditionally emanating from Yahweh by the hand of Moses. However uniform may have been at one time the basic legislative kernel for each shrine, soon there would grow up over and around it a supplementary growth of legal enactments to meet the complexities of a more elaborate social system. It is said that a Gentile came to the famous Jewish rabbi, Hillel, and asked to be taught the whole Jewish law in the time he could stand on one leg. Hillel replied, "What thou shouldest not that thy neighbour should do unto thee, that do not thou unto him. That is the whole law, all the rest is commentary." So it may be said of the simple legislative kernel of the shrines. The commentary with which it was gradually cloaked, would consist of considered judgments formulated as it would be expected Moses would have done had he been faced with the same problem. They would be in the Mosaic tradition and regarded as Mosaic enactments. Each shrine would have its own sphere of influence within which its legislature operated. The legislations as they developed would soon display distinctive features reflecting the conditions with which they had to deal. An interesting example of this is provided by the Nash

Papyrus which gives a variant and what appears to be a popularised form of the Decalogue and the *shema* from an Egyptian shrine.

The worship of Yahweh which the Hebrews brought with them into Canaan came into close contact with the religions of the dispossessed peoples. The possibility of an association of Yahwism with pagan rites was tacitly admitted in the necessity for rigid and repeated injunctions and penalties against all such contacts. Thus it was possible that the Yahwism of the regional shrines was tinged with the colour of other religions with their less pure rites and ceremonies. From the Elephantine Papyri we learn, for instance, that the Hebrew community at Yeb worshipped Anath, the goddess of heaven, alongside Yahweh in their temple, nor so far as we can gather did they see in this proceeding anything of which to be ashamed. Thus it seems to be a fair assumption that in course of time in Palestine there might be, due to regional idiosyncrasies, not one Yahweh, but many. The issue devolved itself largely into a cleavage between an image worship of Yahweh, and a non-image one, between Yahweh indwelling in animal forms such as the golden calf, and Yahweh as an invisible presence. The graven and molten images made by Micah, of which we learn in the Book of Judges, were clearly associated with Yahweh.

Concurrent with all this diversity of forms of worship came the growth of a spirit of nationalism. You can see it developing and growing in strength in the period of the Judges. Self-interest and self-preservation were the obvious and natural motives in the drive for union, binding together tribes which had in any case a family relationship. Only in respect of an united land could the phrase 'all Israel' have any real significance. But union involved both political and religious union; and religious union with diverse forms of Yahwism in existence could have been by no means an easy task. It called for leadership and statesmanship of a high order. As Yahweh, at least one form of Yahweh, would be head of the united nation, the leader must needs be a man of God, a prophet of Yahweh. Such was the situation at the close of the period of the Judges when it merges into that of the Books of Samuel.

In that age the national God, not only in the eyes of Israel but in those of all the surrounding peoples, was the real ruler of his worshippers. The earthly king was his vice-gerent. We know from the Assyrian records that the gods were consulted before any campaign or other national undertaking was embarked upon, and that the answer was given through omens, or dreams, or the words of seers. But the Hebrews hitherto had had no earthly king. Priests and elders sitting in councils, with perhaps the aid at times of prophets and judges, directed the course of political affairs both domestic and foreign. Each great crisis saw the emergence of a leader, an Ehud, Gideon, or Jephthah.

In this particular age of crisis with which we are concerned, when the tribes found external pressure upon them strong, they found a leader in Samuel. He was a man of unique qualifications being both a priest and prophet and was intimately associated with the temple at Shiloh where was worshipped Yahweh Sebaoth, Yahweh of Hosts. Shiloh, according to a Samaritan tradition which may well be correct, was founded by a schismatic party from the Shechem temple. The greatness of Samuel may be gauged from the interest displayed in his life story in the historical records. The attention focussed on the circumstances attending his birth and early life place him on a level with Moses and single him out as one of the greatest of Old Testament figures, as great evidently as Moses himself. It is significant that not only was Samuel a prophet at Shiloh, he was recognised throughout 'all Israel' as a true prophet of Yahweh. The fact that he was accepted by 'all Israel' showed that throughout the land there was a strong body of worshippers of Yahweh of Shiloh, the non-image Yahweh, and that they constituted a unity amidst tribal diversity, their religion over-riding restraints and antagonisms of tribe or territory.

It is probably a safe deduction from the evidence of the historical books that Samuel, when he set himself the task of uniting 'all Israel', had in mind a hierarchy on lines familiar to the Hebrews. It seemed destined to be one in which he would be the head, and the founder of a dynasty of priest rulers. But this prospect was shattered, so we are led to believe, by the unworthy conduct of Samuel's sons. They walked not in his

ways, turned aside after lucre, took bribes and perverted judgment. The elders of the people took counsel, had an audience with Samuel and insisted on a king as an alternative. It was the firm voice of democracy. Samuel, clearly with great reluctance, had to acquiesce and the making a king was regarded from his viewpoint as a slight upon Yahweh. Samuel at Mizpah tells the people they have rejected Yahweh. Yet Samuel carried out the wishes of the people. Through his agency Saul was made king, but, as might perhaps have been expected, there quickly developed antagonism between the two. Samuel would not suffer Saul to participate in the priestly functions nor would he be likely to admit Saul's claim, or at least the claim made for him on the score of some public appearances with the symptoms of prophetic ecstasy upon him, that Saul was also amongst the prophets. It was natural that Saul would wish to substantiate both claims, for in the exercise of the priesthood and the prophetic office lay the real power within the newly constituted state.

The fashioning of a state out of the scattered tribes was no light task, but its necessary corollary, the unification of the worship of Yahweh, was a greater still. This, as Samuel must have perceived, could only be brought to fruition by the erection of a national sanctuary. Yahweh in various ways and in some cases with idolatrous adjuncts was being worshipped at shrines and high places throughout the land. They were places originally chosen as sites of sanctuaries because in some time past Yahweh had indicated his acceptance of the places by a theophany or some other sign, for he had proclaimed "In all places where I record my name I will come unto thee and bless thee" (Ex. 20²⁴).

If worship was to be unified a new central sanctuary was clearly indicated. It could only have been envisaged as a place on a different footing from all others in which Yahweh was worshipped. It would not be a place visited merely on occasion by Yahweh. It would be his home on earth where he would abide for ever in the midst of his people. Obviously it would have to be a new sanctuary and the site must needs be carefully chosen, for tribal jealousies would never have permitted the choice of any one of the existing sanctuaries. Clearly it must be a place situated in Central Palestine yet neither in Ephraim

nor in Judah. The choice of the tribe of Benjamin was obvious. It may be that Samuel had in mind Ramah, his home, or Gibeon which between Samuel's time and that of Solomon had some claim to be the greatest high place, since it was there that the Tent of Meeting was preserved and it was thither that Solomon went to be crowned.

The final choice was not left to Samuel, however, but to David, as it was eventually left to Solomon to erect the building. For Samuel the site was indeterminate, a place amongst the tribes 'which Yahweh shall choose to put his name there'. In the course of time political and military reasons decided that Jerusalem should be the capital, and the divine visitation of Araunah's threshing floor determined where the sanctuary should be built. That inter-tribal rivalries *did* play their part in the selection of a suitable site is no mere surmise. Eventually the Temple was erected on the boundary between Judah and Benjamin. The greater part of it was in Benjamin, yet the site was so chosen, or perhaps the boundary so deflected, that there was formed an enclave of Judah within Benjamin territory in which was the altar of sacrifice. And Benjamin, we are reminded by Rabbinic tradition, was likened to a ravening wolf in the Blessing of Jacob because of his consuming desire to snatch for himself full possession of God's house.

The establishing of one temple and home for Yahweh and the centralisation of his worship in one spot for the whole land was a religious revolution. Its accomplishment called for the highest qualities of statesmanship and leadership. We must not imagine that such a task was differently conceived or differently executed than a similar task would be in our own days. Its accomplishment was not effected by a miracle. The co-operation of a number of shrines in a national union must have necessitated a great deal of organisation. It inevitably involved many meetings of representatives, much discussion, many compromises, fateful decisions. The course of events towards ultimate success could only have been directed by someone like Samuel in a position of unassailable authority. It was essential to fashion from the regional legislations of the shrines a national legislation for the proposed sanctuary and for 'all Israel'. It would be at

the same time the legislation for the new kingdom binding on both king and people. It would be the constitution of the realm, the מְשֹׁפֵט הַמַּמְלָכָה. The task facing a leader, such as Samuel, was the unification of the diverse elements in the regional legal codes. If a similar problem confronted a national leader to-day, how do you think he would act? One of two courses would seem to be open to him. Either he might deal drastically with the whole legislative position, scrapping all individual legislations and substituting a carefully compiled code, retaining all that was fundamental and essential, cutting out all duplications and inconsistencies, and eliminating all that had been superseded; or, alternatively, he might preserve all that the shrines held to be valuable even if this course involved much overlapping, duplications, parallelisms, and inconsistencies. But the legislations of the shrines would have joined with them the traditions which provided the background and the explanation of the origin of the legislation. These also would have to be unified by conflation, duplication or other means.

The first solution could never have been attempted. It was clearly impossible to set aside what had been handed down from Moses, together with the supplementary legislation framed in the Mosaic tradition. The second solution was the only possible one, but when the documents of legislative matter and parallel traditions were brought together and dovetailed there would still remain the task of summarising the legislation afresh so as to present a consistent whole. It would be necessary to bring the whole up to date by adding enactments, framed likewise in the Mosaic tradition, dealing with existing problems. But is not this mixed collection of traditions and laws a fair description of the sum and substance of the first four books of the Pentateuch, and is not the supplementary document a fair description of Deuteronomy? The book of Deuteronomy not only recapitulates earlier legislation, summarises the historical traditions which form a background to the laws, but insists that 'all Israel' shall know Yahweh their God. They are invited to enter into a new covenant with him, breach of which will involve the most dire penalties touching all aspects of the life of the Hebrew at that time. It stands to reason that the institution of a central sanctuary

called for just such a document as the Torah. If the Torah was not compiled at this time, then where is the document of similar character which the situation clearly demanded? And who else after Moses could have had any hand in promoting a legislature except Samuel, whom Rabbinic tradition not only puts on the same level as Moses but even regards as in some respects greater. Jeremiah seems to put them on the same plane. "Then said Yahweh unto me, though Moses and Samuel stood before me yet my mind could not be towards this people" (15¹).

It is not to be supposed that Samuel wrote the Torah with his own hand. The assembling of the materials and the arranging of them may very well have been the work of scholarly scribes working at the instigation and under the direction of Samuel's ecclesiastical councils. The results of their labours would be submitted to and finally accepted by them. That Samuel presided over the deliberations of the councils and may have contributed to the writing of parts of the Torah, notably Deuteronomy, is possible. We can think of this council, the existence of which we are driven to envisage, as an early edition of the Beth-Din of later Judaism, with Samuel as Ab Beth-Din. Indeed the term Beth-Din is used of Samuel's council in a number of Talmud tractates (Makkoth, Erubīn, Yebamoth). This, however, should not be overstressed, for it was the custom of later Hebrew writers to project their more recent institutions on to the screen of the past.

In no other way could the great reform be accomplished than by Samuel carrying the people with him in the person of their representatives. The voice of the people could make itself felt in that age to good effect. We have only to reflect on the stand taken by the elders against Samuel on the question of the succession to his high office (I Sam. 8¹⁻³) to realise how independent they might be in other questions, and presumably not least in the one we are considering. Remember also how Ezra was opposed when he insisted on the dissolution of mixed marriages (10⁵), and the names of four outstanding opponents are even recorded. Nor is it an unheard of thing for a Hebrew council to be credited with writing Scripture. According to the Talmud Baba Bathra, the men of the Great Synagogue, wrote Ezekiel,

the Minor Prophets, Daniel, and the Scroll of Esther. One can only presume that the arrangement, editing and acceptance of these books is implied.

Since Deuteronomy, according to the view just expressed, is the necessary supplement to the compilation of traditions and legal codes found in the first four books of the Torah, some of the implications of this viewpoint should be stressed. The conception of a succession of documents, editions, and editors which characterises the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis and is essential to it, is thereby eliminated. If our theory be accepted the different writers, or rather compilers, of the Torah all lived in the same age and all were occupied with their great tasks at the same time. The fact that there are differences in style and diction does not require by way of explanation differences of period. The claim, too, that there is evidence of the participation of different hands in Deuteronomy need not, even if it is admitted, disturb us. If it can be proved that the legislative kernel and the framework are by separate hands we could still answer that it is no more than we would expect. Nor should it be forgotten that scholars have detected Deuteronomic elements in the first four books of the Pentateuch (or the Protonomium as it was once the fashion to call them). This fact is all in favour of our theory, but it is decidedly disconcerting for the exponents of the Graf-Wellhausen theory.

It was a condition essential for religious union that there should be only one Yahweh worshipped in the land, the imageless Yahweh, the Yahweh of Hosts, the Yahweh worshipped at Shiloh, the temple with which Samuel was first associated. It was this Yahweh whose worship was transferred to Jerusalem. An interesting point is that after the transference took place he is known merely as Yahweh. Deuteronomy does not use the expression Yahweh Sebaoth, Yahweh of Hosts. The Yahweh of Hosts of Shiloh had become the god of the whole nation. He was *the* Yahweh. An interesting sidelight on this is supplied by two prohibitions against the worship of the 'host of heaven' in Deuteronomy (4¹⁹, 17⁸). For those being initiated into the worship of *the* Yahweh it was necessary to enter this caveat, lest the emphasis of worship should be laid on the 'hosts'.

The crux of the matter was that there should be but one Yahweh for 'all Israel'. In Deuteronomy this is stressed with the emphatic 'Hear, O Israel, Yahweh our God is one Yahweh'. This utterance is not the charter of monotheism as has generally been supposed. What is stressed is not monotheism but mono-Yahwism, a point to which attention has recently been drawn.¹ One form of Yahweh worship and one only was to be practised.

There is also in Deuteronomy the continual appeal to *all Israel* as to something new, a union just accomplished. And one of the *raison d'être* of Deuteronomy was to make all-Israel familiar with Yahweh their god whom they had elected to worship. In the age of Josiah an appeal to all-Israel in this sense would be void of all meaning.

Deuteronomy, too, of its own content, supplies arguments for dating it in the Samuel age. One is the venomous curse on Amalek (Deut. 25¹⁷⁻¹⁸). This is found also in a slightly less emphatic form in Exodus (17¹⁴). It is obviously a live issue at the time of Deuteronomy. We have only to recollect Samuel's treatment of Agag to realise how deeply he felt against this bitter foe. At the time of Josiah it is nothing but a pointless anachronism. Another argument is the section on the institution of a king (Deut. 17¹⁴⁻²⁰). A kingship is evidently under discussion when this section was drawn up and one can almost witness Samuel's reactions to the proposal in the warnings here given to the people of what they may expect from a king. An important point is that it is laid down that when he comes to the throne he shall write a copy of 'this Torah' from that which is before the priests, the Levites, 'that he might learn to fear Yahweh, his God, to keep all the words of this Torah and these statutes to do them'. The Torah is evidently something new with which the king has to make himself thoroughly familiar since it is the constitution and legislative system of his kingdom. This situation exactly fits the time of Samuel. Can the same be said of the time of Josiah?

Then again the injunction to give no quarter to the inhabitants of Canaan (Deut. 7¹⁵, 20¹⁶⁻¹⁸) was surely without meaning in

¹ W. F. Bade, *Der Monojahwismus des Deuteronomiums* (Z.A.W., 45 (1927), p. 24-9).

the time of Josiah but could only be applicable to the period covered by the books of Joshua and Judges.

The exponents of the Graf-Wellhausen theory admit the awkwardness of the presence of such sections in Deuteronomy, but think they are best disregarded. They find it expedient, to look upon them as survivals from a distant past, a species of literary flotsam carried down the river of Time.

But these instances do not exhaust the list of obstacles they have to surmount. There are archaic forms of words in the Hebrew text of Deuteronomy which militate against a late date. Here again the advocates of the documentary theory avert their eyes and decline to regard them as archaisms. Then again the references to Edom do not reflect the conditions of the time of Josiah but of that of Samuel. The Edomites, so courteously entreated in Deuteronomy, were only friendly with Israel in the earliest times whilst hatred of them seems to have been continuous from the time of Saul onwards. Such references have no antiquarian value that they should be perpetuated in a legislative document when they ceased to have any meaning. What possible advantage would it be to the composers of a Deuteronomy in the time of Josiah to include them?

Then again, when Deuteronomy lays it down 'Ye shall not do after all the things that we do here this day, every man whatsoever is right in his own eyes' (12⁸), it is the period of the Judges against which that charge was always specially made. It did not in any way reflect the conditions of the Josianic period. And after all is it not recorded (I Sam. 10²⁵) that Samuel recited the constitution of the kingdom (משפט הממלכה) to the people, wrote it in a book, and deposited it before the Lord?

Samuel's association with the temple at Shiloh might be expected, if our theory is accepted, to colour his new legislative effort. Much has been made of the requirement in Deuteronomy that all males should appear before Yahweh at the central sanctuary at the time of the great feasts. It has proved a veritable stumbling-block, because of its impracticability, and the search for another explanation of the meaning of the expression, 'the place that Yahweh shall choose to put his name there' or for another period than that of Josiah for the date of Deuteronomy,

has hinged largely on this point. But, assuming that Samuel was concerned with the framing of Deuteronomy, it would be in being long before the Temple at Jerusalem was dedicated. Unless the legislation was put in force at a sanctuary such as Gibeon, until the temple could be built, there would be no opportunity to test the effect of the legislation. We learn, however, that Elkanah, the father of Samuel, used to make every year pilgrimages to the Shiloh sanctuary to worship and sacrifice, and that there was an annual big feast at Shiloh is also borne out by Judges 21¹⁹. That an annual pilgrimage on a large scale should be perpetuated in the Deuteronomic legislation was natural.

That the Law of Holiness (Lev. 17-26) may have been part of the legislation of the Shiloh temple has already been suggested. Its correspondence in style and tone with Deuteronomy is generally recognised, and Hempel has held that what he regards as the oldest document used in the making of Deuteronomy (which he calls Q1) was a very old temple law from Shiloh. In the Law of Holiness all the members of the family of Levi are priests. There is no distinction of order within the tribe. And that, interestingly enough, is the viewpoint of Deuteronomy. We should have expected that in a central sanctuary the descendants of Aaron, in view of his exalted position at the side of Moses, should be installed in the highest priestly office. The Aaronite priesthood, however, was in charge at Shechem, not Shiloh. The Samaritans claimed for their High Priesthood, until it died out in comparatively recent times, direct descent from Aaron. No similar claim appears to have been made for Shiloh, and consequently they appear to have been contented with their Levitical priesthood. As the sons of Eli were barred from the high priesthood at Shiloh, it passed eventually to the family of Zadok, which must also have been associated with Shiloh, if the reference in I Sam. 3^{35 ff.} to the raising up of a faithful priest for whom will be built a sure house refers, as is generally conceded, to Zadok. Zadok first appears in David's time, and the claim of Zadok to be descended from Aaron is worked out by the Chronicler, but in a fashion so unconvincing that it is almost unanimously rejected by scholars. Sellin has adduced evidence

to show that Zadok originally came from Gibeon.¹ Due perhaps to Samuel's influence and interest the Levites in Deuteronomy are advanced to the place occupied in the earlier books by the sons of Aaron, and their maintenance was assured from the Temple dues, tithes, etc.

It is just possible that the fate that befel Shiloh in Samuel's lifetime may have turned his thoughts in the direction of a central sanctuary and spurred him into action. The nation was united religiously and possibly politically in his lifetime. Eventually the great Temple at Jerusalem was erected and dedicated, and the Torah came into operation as law for the people and direction for the individual throughout the land. The minor legislations of the dispossessed shrines were superseded. The ark, after many vicissitudes since leaving Shiloh, found a resting-place in the new Temple. The migration of Yahweh of Hosts from Shiloh to Jerusalem (there may have been a pause for a period at Gibeon or Kirjath-Jearim) was completed.

But unfortunately this happy state did not continue long. Old jealousies between North and South were revived. That the kingship was now, and would by statute remain, a possession of Judah may well have rankled in the minds of the Northern Israelites. The harshnesses of Solomon's rule fanned the smouldering embers of discontent. The North, too, may have felt the irk of the new religious ties to Jerusalem. The golden calf worship of Yahweh had its devotees in the North. Jeroboam's successful revolt gave it an impetus, and Jeroboam encouraged it to ensure a complete break with Jerusalem. In this he was successful for the older shrines at Shechem and Shiloh (or what remained of it) evidently continued to cling to the imageless worship of Yahweh and the Torah, since Jeroboam had to erect sanctuaries for his calf worship elsewhere. With the disruption of the kingdom the centralisation of worship for 'all Israel' at Jerusalem ceased to have any meaning. That Yahweh had abandoned his dwelling-place was manifest to all when Shishak came up from Egypt in the fifth year of Rehoboam and despoiled the Temple. Jeroboam, too, had restored the high places for worship and the Levites who had migrated to Jerusalem were

¹ *Geschichte d. isr.-jüd. Volkes*, 1924, p. 170.

either restored or non-Levites were appointed to minister in their stead. The Temple at Jerusalem being no longer the national sanctuary, the writ of the Torah no longer ran in the land of Israel. The Temple remained a shrine, not of 'Yahweh, thy God' but of Yahweh of Hosts of Shiloh. There would follow of necessity a reversion to the pre-Torah legislation of the Shiloh shrine, part of which was, it has been suggested, the Law of Holiness. Fortunately this can be tested. In Jeremiah we have a prophet who lived when the re-introduction of the Torah under Josiah was a burning question. An examination of the Book of Jeremiah shows that the law code under which he lived was the Law of Holiness. He uses continually the term Yahweh of Hosts, for the Yahweh of the Jerusalem Temple, a term you will remember that was abandoned in Deuteronomy.

In chapter 7 of his book Jeremiah is described as standing in the gate of Yahweh's house in Jerusalem and admonishing the people in Yahweh's name. Amongst other admonitions he says, "Will ye come and stand before me in this house which is called by my name", adding a little later, "But go ye now unto my place which was in Shiloh, where I caused my name to dwell at the first, and see what I did to it for the wickedness of my people Israel" (7^{10, 12}.)

We may cite two arguments in support of the view that Jeremiah's code was the Law of Holiness. For the 'Year of Release' the Law of Holiness uses the term דְּרֹר and that is the *terminus technicus* used by Jeremiah. Deuteronomy calls it שְׁמִטָּה. Then, also, Jeremiah's action in purchasing the field at Anathoth (32⁷) is in contravention of Deuteronomy, where it is laid down that the Levite shall have no inheritance (14²⁷, 10⁹, 18²), but it accords well with the Law of Holiness (Lev. 25^{33 1}).

In this connection we may refer to the Elephantine argument for the date of Deuteronomy. The Elephantine papyri have drawn attention to a Hebrew temple at Yeb, near Assouan in Egypt, which must have been founded as early as the sixth century B.C. or probably earlier. There Yahweh was worshipped and beside him at the same shrine, Anath, goddess of heaven, was also worshipped. This state of affairs reflects conditions

that may have obtained at Yahweh shrines in Canaan in the pre-Torah days, and the fact that letters were sent asking for support for rebuilding their temple which had been destroyed showed they were ignorant of the Deuteronomic code. This has been seized upon as proof that Deuteronomy was not in existence before the time of Josiah. But here again, if our view of the origin of Deuteronomy is correct, the answer has been given. Deuteronomy was in existence, but since the days of Rehoboam it was in abeyance. Until there was a prospect of a religious reunion of North and South it could not be re-introduced. And probably the most serious consequence of the disruption of the kingdom was this suspension of the operation of the Torah. Nor could it be expected to operate until the breach between North and South was healed, and Yahweh, God of all Israel, would return to his dwelling-place on earth. Is it reasonable to suppose that no effort would be made to bring about the restoration of the united kingdom? In a previous lecture in this place I gave some evidence to show that prophets like Elijah, Elisha, Amos, Hosea and others made strenuous efforts by preaching and by fomenting rebellions in the Northern Kingdom to overthrow the rival kingship, and by eliminating it to promote the restoration of a united nation.¹ At times these efforts appeared to be on the brink of success, but always the North clung to its kingship.

The years slipped past, and the reunion of 'all Israel', the *sine qua non* for the re-introduction of the Torah, was still on the horizon. Then in 721 Samaria fell. There was no longer a king in the North. It was the first real opportunity for a reunion. In the South the house of David still ruled in the person of Hezekiah, who came to the throne in the following year. Was the chance to be lost? Hezekiah was quick to take action, and although he had no jurisdiction over the North, he sent to all Israel and Judah, and wrote letters also to Ephraim and Manasseh that they should come to the house of the Lord at Jerusalem to keep the passover unto the Lord, the God of Israel (II Chr. 30¹). In this matter, too, the king did not act on his own responsibility, but took counsel of the people. A

¹ BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, January, 1936.

proclamation was issued throughout 'all Israel' (again the Deuteronomic term) from Beersheba even unto Dan. The response was what might have been expected from people long alienated from Jerusalem, its Temple and Torah. They laughed the couriers to scorn and mocked them as they passed through the country of Ephraim and Manasseh even unto Zebulun. The Passover was celebrated. The sanctuary was cleansed, the altars removed. Azariah of the house of Zadok was chief priest. The worship of Yahweh was re-instituted. The Chronicler adds: 'So there was great joy in Jerusalem, for since the time of Solomon, the son of David, King of Israel, there was not the like in Jerusalem' (II Chr. 30²⁶).

With Manasseh on the throne there came a reaction, at least in the first part of his reign. But the effort to revive the worship of Yahweh, God of all Israel, was taken up again by Josiah. Again it was accompanied by action in North Israel, as well as in Judah. The fact that both Hezekiah and Josiah brought the whole land from Beersheba to Dan within the sphere of their operations was natural and from the point of view of our theory essential. The advocates of the regnant hypothesis are frankly puzzled at such conduct. They cannot understand why the two kings should interest themselves in regions over which they had no jurisdiction. A feature of Deuteronomy you will remember was the transformation of the Passover from a domestic festival into a national one. It was a distinctive feature of Deuteronomy. It is consequently significant that both Hezekiah and Josiah instituted their reforms by calling all Israel to that particular festival.

Just what was the attitude of Jeremiah to the Torah is not clear. He seems to have known of it and been influenced to some extent by it, but he gives the impression of fighting shy of it. But that is too big a question to take up here.

Just a final word about the Torah at the Return. When the Samaritans heard that Jews had returned from Babylon and were shaping to rebuild the Temple, they approached Zerubbabel, claiming that they worshipped the same God. There is little reason to doubt that their claim was true, and that they would be able to produce a copy of the Torah to prove their case. The

men of Shechem were regarded by the Jews with Zerubbabel as Kuthites introduced by the Assyrian king to replace the Israelites whom he deported. The contention that the Samaritans got their copy of the Torah when a grandson of the High Priest, and son-in-law of Sanballat, was chased from him by Nehemiah, is too naïve to be seriously considered. No religious community could ever accept its scriptures in such casual fashion.

The advocates of the Graf-Wellhausen theory are driven in its support to place the eighth-century prophets prior in time to the Torah in its present form. In consequence it is very awkward for them that the name Torah is found in the prophetic writings of that period. The critics take refuge in the argument that the word here is not Torah with a capital T, but the common noun meaning 'teaching', and the word is used in a general sense. But the evidence cannot so easily be brushed aside. When Hosea complains that the children of Israel (meaning by that the Northern Kingdom) have forgotten the 'Torah of Yahweh' (4⁶), it is reluctantly conceded that he must be speaking of some system of legislation, and when, as the mouthpiece of Yahweh, he says, 'Even if I should write a myriad (copies) of my Law', or it may be translated 'my Law in 10,000 precepts' (the text is uncertain at this point), it has to be admitted that he can only mean a written body of law. When Amos chides Judah for rejecting 'the Torah of Yahweh, not keeping his statutes' (2⁴), he has clearly a well-known body of law in mind.

And what of the view that Deuteronomy at least was written under the prophetic influence, if not actually by the prophets themselves? In the writings of the eighth-century prophets are found terms and expressions which are also found in the Torah. Those who make the Torah of later date than the prophets must, of course, argue that the Torah quoted from the prophets. Words and phrases made familiar by the writings of the prophets found their way into the Torah. But surely this is the antithesis of all that is probable. Which is the more likely? That Scriptures should be compiled in this way or that the prophets should quote from what was their Scripture? Quoting from Scripture is what we can all understand, but Scripture quoting

from the literary productions of a number of individuals is something new and to me at least incomprehensible.

It has been argued also in this same connection, that the humanitarianism so evident in the Torah, is an ingredient contributed by the prophets. But was it? The humanity which softens the hard edges of the Hebrew code is no contribution from an individual or individuals. It is there because the Hebrews from the first were a democracy. In the shaping of their laws the voice of the people was heard. Humanity and other ethical elements were inherent in the people. They found expression when the people spoke. *Vox populi, vox Dei*. The eighth-century prophets, when they make their urgent appeals, are really pointing out to Israel (the Northern Kingdom) just what grievous loss they have suffered by abandoning the Torah.

You may wish to ask, 'Why, if what you claim is true, is not Samuel's name associated with the Torah?' The explanation seems to be that Samuel was not the *author* of the Torah. He and his collaborators in its composition were not creating something new. They were preserving the legislation of their God and the traditions of their tribes. If there was any name to be attached to the Torah, it was that of Moses. Looking back along the dim road that led out of the past, they could discern that great figure and no other at the beginning of the way which led from Sinai. And their vision was shared, and is still shared, by the Hebrew people.

Yet perhaps there is after all a reference, even if indirect, to Samuel in the Torah. It is found in the place where you would most expect to find it, in Deuteronomy. Samuel in his age would, like all public men engaged on a great reform, have his opponents and detractors. Speaking of the time when Israel has entered the land of promise, Yahweh speaks (Deut. 18^{18 f.}), 'I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren like unto thee (Moses), and I will put my words in his mouth and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him. And it shall come to pass that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name I will require it of him.' Do these words not constitute Samuel's credentials for the compiling of the Torah? Surely there is here an obvious allusion

to an individual. Yet the elder Driver was compelled to find in it a reference to a *prophetical order*. And if this individual was not Samuel, who was he?

An interesting sidelight is thrown on the difficulties that must have existed in placating animosities and reconciling rival interests in the process of compilation. In Genesis, chapter 49, we have the ancient poem, the Blessing of Jacob. It is clearly Judaic in origin, and is directed against the northern tribes. Judah alone is the highly favoured one. It was a piece of literature which you could imagine a southern shrine wishing to have preserved in the new collection of Scriptures. Yet obviously it would strike a discordant note. To counterbalance it we have in Deuteronomy 33 the Blessing of Moses, where blessings are invoked all round. It is a document calculated to promote peace and harmony in a united nation and effectively offset the inclusion of the Blessing of Jacob.

In the year 1872 a German, Paul Kleinert, published a book in which he argued that Deuteronomy was written by Samuel. W. E. Addis, in his *Documents of the Hexateuch* (p. xxxvi), said it only deserved notice as a curious eccentricity. This was not only unkind but unjust, for Kleinert's investigations were thorough, although in later years he resiled from this position and subscribed to the documentary theory. I hope then that when I argue that the Torah was fashioned at the instigation, and under the supervision, of Samuel you will not dismiss my claim as lightly. The dating of Deuteronomy in the period of Josiah is proving an Achilles heel to the Graf-Wellhausen theory, and the attacks launched against it are having their effect. The need for a new theory is becoming urgent. Even if the conciliar theory which is here offered is not proved satisfactory, it may suggest at least to others a new line of approach. To establish the theory in a fitting manner would require many lectures, but war-time conditions and obligations render this, for the time being, impossible. Perhaps its presentation should have been postponed, but hard times necessitate hard decisions, and half a loaf under the circumstances may perhaps be reckoned better than no bread.

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THE DAWN OF THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING.

I

By THE EDITOR.

HISTORY is concerned with the tracing of the evolution of human affairs, and as we study it we are constantly being driven further back for a new starting-point.

For that reason we divide history roughly into four main divisions: ancient, classical, medieval, and modern. This is purely for the sake of convenience, for such are the interrelations and overlappings of one period with another that it is impossible to study any one period without going back to the preceding period to seek the causes which brought about such lines of difference as appear to exist when viewed from our modern point of view. Each generation as it looks back sees a change in the perspective and is unable to look with the same eyes as its predecessors.

For example: if we want to understand the forces which operated in the Renaissance we have to turn back the pages of the history of the Middle Ages until we trace the origin of those forces to be away back in the classical period, in those golden days when literature was preserved and cultivated for her own sake, when she walked alone and had not yet entered into partnership with commerce.

The term "Renaissance" or "Revival of Learning" means the recovery of a lost culture and the renewed diffusion of a lost spirit, which had been slumbering.

The common feelings of humanity were being aroused; Europe was ripe for a change in almost all the relations of Church and state, but the break was not a sudden one.

From the twelfth century onwards to the fifteenth century there had been a gradual stirring of minds, a growing desire for light, the first large result of which was the scholastic philosophy,

commonly referred to as "Scholasticism", which was an attempt to codify all existing knowledge under certain laws and formulæ, so as to reconcile it with the conception of truth which dominated the Middle Ages—that of the universal empire and the universal church.

Hence, the standard of truth adopted by the Schoolmen was that to which the Church had given her sanction.

But in the middle of the fourteenth century scholasticism began to wane, the age of Church domination was about to expire. Rome had lost its guiding hand, and a new intellectual movement set in, which stood for progress and reform, known as "Humanism".

It was recognised that there had been a time when men had used their faculties of mind and imagination without fear of reproof, when they were not bound by formulæ nor restricted to certain paths, but were free to seek knowledge in every field of speculation, and beauty in every field of fancy. These men bequeathed to posterity a literature different in quality and in range from anything that had been written for a thousand years.

The pagan view, which was also the view of the Founder of Christianity, was now once more proclaimed, that man was not only to toil and suffer but also to enjoy, and it brought with it a claim for mental freedom and the full development of man's being.

In this way the barriers so long imposed on the exercise of reason were broken down and the new intellectual movement set in. Even so, we must resist the temptation to exaggerate the darkness of the Middle Ages in order to enhance the brightness of the succeeding ages. In the Middle Ages the dark cloud had a silver lining and the light of religion was never entirely eclipsed, while in the Revival the new light was sometimes dimmed and obscured by the mists of paganism.

If we turn back the pages of history to that epoch-making event in the history of Europe, the Fall of Rome, in 476 A.D., which marks the commencement of the so-called Middle Ages, we shall find that it was followed by a rapid decline of education and general culture.

The barbarian invaders of Italy were strangers to the civilisation and social life out of which the classical literature had arisen. The ancient culture found no place in the life they brought with them. The schools were swept away, libraries disappeared, and learning was stripped of her ancient glories and was expelled from her favourite haunts. Culture and the means of developing it was not only difficult, but was less necessary than the work of defence of hearth and home, when those barbarian invaders were battering at the gates of the city.

Yet, in those days of pillage, of bloodshed, and of revolution, there were places of comparative light where the lamp of truth was kept burning. Monasteries had commenced to multiply in the West, and also in the East as early as the fourth century. In 528 A.D. the first house of the Benedictine Order was founded at Monte Cassino, and thenceforward, wherever established, this order was a powerful agency for good. It created in the West almost the only homes of learning and education, and constituted by far the most civilizing agency in Europe, until it was superseded as an educational instrument by the growth of the universities.

To the Benedictines is largely due the survival of the Latin classics. Indeed, it would be difficult to overrate their services as guardians of books in the darkest ages of Europe.

The 5000 Greek and 3000 Latin manuscripts of the Bible, or parts of it, which have come down to us and constitute the sources of our knowledge of the books of the sacred volume, except for a few fragments of papyri recently recovered, were written during the Middle Ages.

Not only so, but our knowledge of the Latin and also of the Greek classics, except for a few papyri recently recovered, rests upon the copies produced during the Middle Ages in the religious houses of the East and West.

To-day the classical scholar wishes the holy fathers had thought more about his cherished authors of Greece and Rome, whilst the pious puritan historian blames them for patronizing the romantic allurements of Ovid or the loose satires of Juvenal.

The truth is that these holy fathers were attracted by the perfection of form attained by many of the old authors

whose works they studied with a view to mastering the language that had long been traditional in the teaching of the Church, and remained the only medium of literary expression in Western Europe. These monks were genuine book-lovers, they encouraged learning, they cherished the books they had rescued from the destruction of war and time and husbanded them as intellectual food for posterity.

In any study of the Revival of Learning, no matter how superficial, we must resist the temptation to regard it as a sudden and single event with a fixed and definite date. It was a gradual, protracted process resulting from a long series of causes.

In the classic soil of Italy the revival was slowly called into being by the prevailing spirit of intellectual freedom, by the social and political condition of the country, by the continuous traditions of the Latin language, by the central witness of the existence of Greek in the region of Magna Græcia, as Italy was known, by the survival of the remains of ancient sculpture and by the abiding presence of the ruins of Rome.

But the great and general enthusiasm of the Italians for classical antiquity did not display itself before the fourteenth century. For this a development of civic life was required which took place only in Italy and not until then. It was needful that noble and burgher should first learn to dwell together on equal terms, that highest and lowest should come together in a manly brotherhood, and that a social world should arise which felt the want of culture and had the leisure and means to obtain it.

But culture as soon as it freed itself from the fantastic bonds of the Middle Ages could not at once without help find its way to the understanding of the physical and intellectual world. It needed a guide and found it in the ancient civilization with its wealth of truth and knowledge in every spiritual interest. Both the form and substance of this civilization was adopted with admiring gratitude and it became the chief part of the culture of the age.

Macaulay in his essay on Machiavelli declares : that “ during the gloomy and disastrous centuries which followed the downfall of the Roman Empire, Italy had preserved, in a far greater

degree than any other part of Western Europe, the traces of ancient civilization. The night which descended upon her was the night of an Arctic summer. The dawn began to reappear before the last reflection of the preceding sunset had faded from the horizon." But Professor Sandys prefers to say : that " although the night was luminous the sun was absent and Petrarch was the morning star of a new day ". Or, as Renan in his study of Averroës describes him, " the first modern man ".

No one will deny to Petrarch the honour of being the link between the mediæval and modern world, of standing on the confines of two worlds, and of looking backwards and forwards. But Petrarch does not stand alone. There were other stars in the sky before the star of Petrarch arose, although not of the same magnitude.

Among his immediate precursors were two scholars of Padua. One, the eloquent and learned Lovati, who died in 1309, was the first to recognize the rules of metre followed by Seneca ; the other, his younger contemporary and the inheritor of his literary interests, was the eminent statesman, historian and poet, who died in 1329, Albertino Mussato, the author of poems abounding in reminiscences of Vergil, Ovid and Lucan, and of works in prose recalling Livy's eulogies of old Roman heroes.

Another precursor was Giovanni del Vergilio of Bologna, who in 1319 had the temerity to send to Dante a Latin epic in which he criticised the great poet's preference for Italian rather than Latin as the language of the *Divina Commedia*. His claim to be regarded as a precursor of the Renaissance rests mainly on his admiration of Vergil, whose name was assumed by himself, or was won from others by his success as an exponent or imitator of the Roman poet.

A still earlier precursor was the eminent notary of Florence, Brunetto Latini, who died in 1290. During his exile in France (1260-67) he wrote *Il Tesoro*, the work by which he still lives, in which he takes delight in quoting the classics. He is immortalized by Dante in the 15th canto of the " Inferno," where he confesses that it was from Brunetto he learned " how man makes himself eternal ".

The claims to fame of these four scholars rests upon their admiration and imitation of ancient Latin models.

Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) was also a precursor in the same sense that he broke away from the mediæval tradition by writing his great poem not in Latin but in the Tuscan tongue, in his proud self-consciousness as a poet, and in his personal longing for fame. It is true that in his poem he firmly maintains the emptiness of fame, although in a manner which betrays that his heart was not free from the longing for it.¹

It was a new thing to find such wide learning outside the clerical order. No more learned layman can be met in the age of the Revival. Yet he was true to the strictest theology of the Middle Ages. The speculative basis of Dante's great poem is furnished by the scholastic combination of Christian theology with Aristotelian philosophy.

Dante had the highest regard for Aristotle, for in the limbo of the unbaptized in a green meadow surrounded by the seven-fold walls of a noble castle, the poet sees "the Master of them that know", with Plato and Socrates hard by and, amongst others, Tully and Livy, and the moralist Seneca with Avicenna.²

Dante was one of the most profound scholars of his times, and in his works he makes constant reference to the Latin classics. These references to ancient literature have been collected and classified as follows: from the "Vulgate" 500, from Aristotle 300, from Vergil 200, from Ovid 100, from Cicero 50, from Statius and Boethius 40 to 50, and so on.

Dante knew nothing of Greek, so that his quotations are from the Latin Aristotle. Like the mediæval scholar he lay in bondage to the Latin versions, and it was high time that a revival of learning should restore a knowledge of the Greek texts, and extend the range of study by inspiring it with a new interest.

The passion for Latin continued until the middle of the seventeenth century. Latin was considered to be more noble than the vernacular. Poggio regretted that Dante had composed his great poem in Italian, and Dante himself seems to have had some scruples for he began his "Inferno" in Latin

¹ "Paradiso", vi; "Purgatorio", v, xi; "Inferno", vi.

² "Inferno", iv, 130-144.

verse ; and there seems to be little doubt that like Petrarch and Boccaccio later he hoped to attain immortality by his Latin rather than his Italian works.

A certain prejudice against pagan learning and especially against pagan poetry seems to have been traditional in the Christian community.

In the third century Tertullian asked what Athens had to do with Jerusalem, or the Academy with the Church. St. Jerome enquired what concern Horace had with the Psalter, or Vergil with the Gospel, or Cicero with the Apostles. Yet St. Jerome agreed with Origen that it was as lawful for Christians as for Jews to spoil the Egyptians, and, after due precaution, to appropriate any prize they had captured from the hands of the enemy.

The prejudice lived on among churchmen. Cicero had supplied a model for the Latin of the Fathers and of their successors in the Middle Ages, but even Cicero might be studied with undue devotion.

A more liberal spirit animated Cassiodorus in the sixth century, when he exhorted his monks to study the liberal arts and to follow the example of Moses who was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.

Doubtless, many of those who entered the monastery were drawn to it as a place of quiet, a home of learning and leisure, where they could live apart from the strife of tongues and the tumult of war.

The influence of such studious votaries of the religious life must have done much to counteract the traditional prejudice against the pagan classics, and intelligent readers of Latin could not fail to be attracted by the perfection of form attained by many of the old classical writers whose works they studied with a view to mastering the language that had been traditional in the teaching of the Church. In this way an interest in the classics had succeeded in surviving the censure of the Church.

The scholar who more than any other has left the impress of his personality upon the history of the beginnings of modern history was Petrarch, whose life covers the period of seventy years, between 1304 and 1374. He was born in exile at Arezzo,

was taken at an early age to Avignon, was educated mainly at Montpellier and Bologna, and spent sixteen years at Vacluse. His early travels in France and Germany were followed by repeated visits to Rome, where in recognition of his powers as a Latin rather than an Italian scholar he was crowned with the laurel on the Capitol in 1341.

Familiar with Parma, Verona and Vicenza he hardly ever saw his ancestral city of Florence. He spent eighteen years in Milan, stayed for a time in Padua and Venice and passed the final years of his life at the quiet village of Arquà, amid the solitude of the Euganean hills.

It is of Petrarch that Byron in *Childe Harold* (iv, 32) has said :

“ If from society we learn to live
’Tis solitude should teach us how to die.”

In the year before his death he wrote to a friend expressing the hope that death might find him reading and writing or, if it pleased Christ, praying and in tears. His desire was partly gratified for on a July morning in 1374 death came upon him in his library, where his attendants found him with his head resting upon an open book and they fancied at first he was only sleeping.

There is a well-attested tradition that he died while illuminating (in other words annotating) his copy of a Latin Homer. His manuscript is now, or was until recently, preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and the trembling hand that marks the close of the notes on the “Odyssey” confirms the tradition that they were his latest work.

Half-way up the slope to Arquà his little house may still be seen, and the room in which he died.

Samuel Rogers in his poem “Italy” says :

“ . . . Knock and enter in.
This was his chamber. ’Tis as when he left it ;
And this his closet. Here he sate and read,
This was his chair ; and in it, unobserved,
Reading or thinking of his absent friends,
He passed away as in a quiet slumber.”

To speak of Petrarch as the first modern man is entirely just. He was the first to realize in the new age the supreme

importance of the old classical literature, to regard that literature with a fresh intelligent and critical interest, to appreciate its value as a means of self-culture and as an exercise of some of the highest faculties of man.

He was no slavish imitator of classical models. In prose he is mainly inspired by the philosophical works of Cicero and by the moral letters of Seneca. In verse his model was Vergil. But he realised the importance of catching the spirit of an author without appropriating the actual language. He was attracted by the perfection of form which he found in the Latin classics. From his earliest youth he had, we are told, a keen ear for the melodies of Latin verse and historical prose. Whilst he was a student at Montpellier he spent the time he was supposed to be devoting to the study of law in the perusal of his favourite Latin authors.

One day his father suddenly appeared on the scene, and realising what was happening, he tore his son's treasures from their place of concealment and flung them on the fire. When the son burst into tears at the grievous sight the father so far relented as to snatch two volumes from the flames, the one a copy of Vergil the other the *Rhetoric* of Cicero. Those two authors became the principal text-books of the Revival. Petrarch describes them in one of his poems, "Trionfo della fama," as the two eyes of his discourse.

In his very boyhood Petrarch had been smitten with the charm of Vergil, and even in his old age he was still haunted by the mediæval tradition of the allegorical significance of the *Æneid*. But unlike the mediæval admirers of Vergil he does not regard him as a mysteriously distant being, he finds in him a friend and he is candid enough to criticize him.

Next to Vergil in order of admiration he placed Horace, to whom he addresses a poetic epistle in no less than 138 lines.

He was familiar with many other Latin poets and prose writers, but such was his admiration for Cicero, and such was the spell that Cicero cast over him that in his old age he is prompted to say that "the eloquence of this heavenly being is absolutely inimitable."

At the commencement of Petrarch's career only a few of

Cicero's writings were known; the others known to be lost were the constant theme of his quest, and whenever in his travels he caught a distant view of some secluded monastery he hastened to the spot in the hope of finding the object of his search.

In 1333 he experienced the first joy of discovery when he found at Liège two speeches of Cicero. In 1345 he found another manuscript containing the letters to Atticus and Quintus, and the correspondence of Brutus.

No sooner had Petrarch discovered these letters to Atticus than he at once indited a letter to Cicero himself apprising him of his find. This was the first of his letters to dead authors.

Here are some passages from his first letter: ¹

"I have read thy letters through to the end most eagerly—letters for which I had diligently searched far and wide, and which finally I came upon where I least expected.

"I have heard thee speak on many subjects, give voice to many laments, and waver frequently in thy opinions O, Marcus Tullius. Hitherto I know what true counsel thou gavest to others, now at least I have learned to what degree thou didst prove mentor to thyself.

"Wherever thou mayest be, hearken in turn to this—I shall not call it advice—but lament, a lament springing from sincere love and uttered not without tears, by one of thy descendants who most dearly cherishes thy name. O, thou ever restless and distressed spirit, or, that thou mayest recognise thine own words, O, thou rash and unfortunate old man! Why such countless enmities and rivalries bound to prove of absolutely no benefit to thee? . . . What false lustre of glory involved thee . . . and hurried thee to an end unworthy of a philosopher? Alas, forgetful of the admonitions of thy brother, forgetful of thy own numerous and wholesome precepts, like a traveller in the night didst thou bear the light in the darkness, and didst enlighten for those following thee the path on which thou thyself didst stumble most wretchedly. . . . I grieve at thy lot, my friend; I am ashamed of thy many great shortcomings, and take compassion on them. . . . Forsooth, what boots it to instruct others, of what profit to discourse eternally, on the virtues, and that, too, in most eloquent terms, if, at the same time, one turns a deaf ear to his own instructions? Ah, how much better had it been for a man of declining years, and especially for one devoted to studies, even as thou, to have lived his last days in the quiet of the country meditating on the everlasting life, and not on this fleeting one."

¹ These and the succeeding extracts have been drawn from "Petrarch's letters to classical authors. Translated from the Latin with a commentary by M. E. Cosenza," *Chicago*, 1910.

In another letter to Cicero, written at Avignon in 1345, Petrarch writes :

" I fear that my last letter offended thee ; for thou thyself art wont to designate as just the adage of thy friend in his ' Andria ' [Terence] ' Homage begets friends ; truth enemies.' If my fear prove true, then accept what may in some degree soothe thy injured feelings. Let not the truth be a source of the humour in every and all instances, I beg of thee. Men, I know, are wont to be angered at justifiable censure, and to rejoice in merited praise. Thou, indeed, O Cicero (speaking with thy leave) didst live as a man, didst speak as an orator, didst write as a philosopher. It was thy life that I found fault with, not thy intellectual powers, nor yet thy command of language. Indeed, I admire the former, and am amazed at the latter. And, moreover, in thy life I feel the lack of nothing except the element of constancy, and a desire for peace that was to have been expected of a philosopher. . . . Whenever thou wast inclined thou didst praise the life of Epicurus and ridiculed his intellect. In thee I ridicule nothing. I take compassion, however, on the life thou didst lead, while . . . I rejoice in thy mental abilities and thy powers of expression. O thou great father of Roman eloquence ! Not only I, but all who take delight in the elegance of the Latin tongue render thee great thanks. Thou art the fountainhead from which we draw the vivifying waters of our meadows. . . . It was under thy auspices that I have gained this ability as a writer (such as it is) and that I have attained my purpose.

" For the realms of poetry, however, there was at hand a second guide. The nature of the case demanded that there should be two leaders, one whom I might follow in the unencumbered ways of prose, and the other in the more restricted paths of poetry. It was necessary there should be two men whom I should admire, respectively, for their eloquence and their song. . . .

" Dost thou ask who that other guide is ? Thou wilt know the man at once if thou art reminded of his name. It is Publius Vergilius Maro, a citizen of Mantua, of whom thou didst prophesy great things . . . just as thou hadst already granted to Latium the palm in oratory, thou wouldst have done likewise in the case of poetry. I do not doubt, moreover, that thou wouldst have pronounced the *Æneid* superior to the *Iliad*. . . . Believe me, Cicero, if thou wert to learn of the fallen state of our country, thou wouldst weep bitter tears, be it a region of Heaven that thou inhabitest, or of Hades. Forever farewell."

In 1348 Petrarch indited a letter to Seneca in which he begs for pardon if :

" I express myself more sharply than is quite consistent with the reverence due to thy calling and to the peace of the grave. . . . I daily listen to your words with more attention than can be believed ; and so, perchance, I shall not be considered impertinent in desiring you in your turn to listen to me once.

"I am fully aware that thou art to be numbered among those whose names are illustrious . . . but often the most perfect mould of either mind or body is marred by some serious blemish of nature, which speaks in such various language. . . . The juxtaposition of contradictory things always sheds light upon doubtful points.

"And yet do thou, O venerable sir and incomparable teacher of moral philosophy, do thou review with me calmly the great error of thy life. Thou didst fall on evil days, in the reign of the most savage ruler within the memory of man.¹ Thou thyself a peaceful mariner didst guide thy bark, heavily laden as it is with the most precious goods, toward an unspeakably dangerous and tempestuous reef. But I ask why didst thou tarry there? Was it that thou mightest the better evince thy masterly skill in so stormy a sea? None but a madman would have thus chosen. To be sure, it is the part of a brave man to face danger resolutely, but not that of a wise man to seek it. Were the prudent man to be given a free choice, he would so live that there would never be need of bravery, for nothing would ever happen to him that would compel him to make a call upon it. The wise man will rather check all excessive demonstrations of joy and confine his desires within proper bounds . . . it was folly to remain amongst the shoals. . . . Thou didst see the sword hanging perpetually over thy head. . . . Yet didst take no step to escape from such a perilous existence. . . . Thou hadst fallen, O pitiable man into the hands of one who had power to do what he willed, but who willed nothing except it were vile. . . . What couldst thou have in common with such an inhuman and bloodstained pupil? Or with courtiers so repugnant to thy nature? Thou mayest answer 'I wished to flee but could not.' . . .

"A most trustworthy authority, Suetonius Tranquillus . . . says that thou didst discourage Nero's reading of the ancient orators in order that thou mightest retain him the longer as an admirer of thine own writings."

Petrarch in his early boyhood had been smitten with the charm of Vergil, and in later years he took him as his model in verse.

Here are a few passages culled from the letter he addressed to him :

"O illustrious Maro, bright luminary of eloquence and second hope of the Latin tongue [he had already given pride of first place to Cicero], fortunate Mantua rejoices in so great a son as thou, rejoices in having brought to light an ornament to the Roman name that will continue to adorn it throughout the centuries. What region of earth or what circle of Avernus arrests thee now? . . .

"Dost thou soothe the Elysian groves with thy tender song, or dost thou dwell upon a Tartarean Helicon? And, O fairest of birds, does Homer, who

¹ Seneca had been chosen by the Emperor Claudius as tutor to the young Nero.

was of one mind with thee, roam about in thy company? . . . Who are thy present companions? What life dost thou live? These are questions I should gladly hear thee answer. And how near the truth were thy earthly dreams and imaginings? Hast thou been welcomed by the wandering Aeneas, and hast thou passed through the ivory portal by which he found exit? Or, rather, dost thou dwell in that quiet region of heaven which receives the blessed, where the stars smile benignly upon the peaceful shades of the illustrious?

"Wert thou received thither after the conquest of the Stygian abodes . . . on the arrival of that Highest King who, victorious in the great struggle, crossed the unholy threshold with pierced feet, and irresistibly beat down the unyielding bars of hell with his pierced hands and hurled its gates from their horrid-sounding hinges? All this should I like to learn from thee.

"If the shade of anyone lately of this world of ours should perchance visit thee in the silent world, receive from him news I have entrusted to him. Learn from him the present condition of the three cities dear to thee, and the treatment which has been accorded to thy works. . . . Mantua, best of cities is ceaselessly tossed by the disturbances of her neighbours, but shielding herself behind her great-souled leaders, she scorns to submit her unconquered head to the yoke, rejoicing in her unconquered lords and ignorant of the rule of the stranger. It is in this city I have composed what you are now reading. It is here that I have found the friendly repose of thy rural fields. . . .

"Constantly I wonder where it was that thou didst rest upon the sloping sward, or that, reclining in thy moments of fatigue thou didst press with thy elbow upon the grassy turf or upon the marge of the charming spring. Such thoughts as these, O Vergil, bring thee vividly before mine eyes. . . . Farewell forever, O beloved one and pray greet in my behalf thy elders, Homer and the Ascræan."

Petrarch knew no Greek and therefore was in bondage to the Latin translation of Homer and Aristotle and the other classics he desired to know, and in his letter to Homer he opens his heart.

This long letter was written in 1360. Petrarch had been in possession of a copy of the original Homer since 1353, but it was a closed book to him, and it was not until just before the date of the letter that several portions of Homer had been translated into Latin for him by Leonzio Pilato. It was this that gave him a taste of the character of the whole work and induced him to address Homer in the letter from which we make a few extracts:

"I have long desired to address thee in writing, and would have done so without hesitation if I had had a ready command of thy tongue. But, alas! Fortune was unkind to me in my study of Greek. Thou, on the other hand,

seemest to have forgotten the Latin which it was formerly customary for our authors to bring to thy assistance, but which their descendants had failed to place at thy disposal. And so, excluded from the one and the other means of communication, I kept my peace. One man has once again restored thee to our age as a Latin. Thy Penelope did not longer nor more anxiously await her Ulysses than I thee. My hopes, indeed, had been deserting me one by one. Excepting the opening lines of several books of thy poem, wherein I beheld thee, as one sees from a distance the doubtful and rapid look of a wished-for friend, . . . With this exception, then, no portion of thy works had come into my hands in Latin translation. Nothing warranted my hope that I might some day behold thee nigh at hand. . . .

"[Now] the Greek flavour has recently been enjoyed by me from a Latin flagon. . . .

"Cicero was, in many instances, merely an expounder of thy thoughts; Vergil was ever more frequently a borrower, both, however, were the princes of Latin speech. . . .

"Thy great work is a masterpiece. . . . Our best must appear to you mere prattle and chattering. You are unapproachable. Ye [i.e. Homer and Vergil] are more than mortal, and your heads pierce the clouds. Yet it is with me as with a babe: I love to babble with those who feed me, even though they are skilled masters of speech. . . ."

This long letter ends :

"Farewell for ever. And when thou wilt have returned to the seat of honour, pray give kindly greetings to Orpheus, Linus, Euripides and the rest."

Next to Vergil in order of admiration Petrarch places Horace, to whom he addressed an epistle of 138 lines. We must not do more than quote a few characteristic passages :

"O thou whom the Italian world hails as prince of the lyric song. . . . It is sweet to go with thee whether thou dost propitiate Faunus with his roaming flocks or eagerly hasten to visit the impetuous and fiery Bromius, or perform the secret rites of the golden goddess related to the ivy crowned Bacchus, or sing of Venus ever in need of both. . . .

"Thou dost chisel out the characters of the ancient heroes as though in material more lasting than marble. If thou but befriendest one thou dost pen in his behalf fresh words of everlasting and enduring praise, such as time cannot erase. . . .

"Be thou my leader, for I am eager to hear thee sing these strains. Take me whither thou wilt. Lead me over the broad expanse of the sea dotted with sails; to the cloud encompassed peaks of mountains. . . . I shall weary not, I shall gladly guide my slow footsteps in the company of such bards. . . .

"Wherever thou goest, whatever thou doest, pleases me. I am pleased when thou dost so carefully rouse thy faithful friends by giving virtue its due reward; when thou rendest vice with gnashing teeth, and, when, smiling, thou dost

artfully peck at folly. I am pleased when singing sweetly, thou fillest thy song with tender words of love. . . .

"Whether happy or alarmed, whether sad or angered, under any and all conditions thou dost give pleasure. . . .

"I shall follow thee with most eager mind, so happily am I drawn captive by the chords of thy lyre, so soothing is to me the bitter-sweetness of thy pen."

Other letters were addressed to Quintillian, Marcus Varro, Titus Livius and Asinius Pollio, all of which are of entrancing interest, but we must refrain from any further quotations.

Symonds in his *Revival of Learning* speaks of Petrarch as the Columbus of a new spiritual hemisphere, whose efforts to return to the old world of the Latin classics led to his discovery of the new world of the Renaissance.

In the dawn of this Revival Petrarch does not stand alone for close beside him stands his friend Boccaccio.

It was under Petrarch's influence that Boccaccio began to read the Latin classics and it was at his prompting that Boccaccio learnt Greek, and thus became the earliest of the Greek scholars of the modern world.

Petrarch himself had had as Greek tutor a Calabrian monk named Barlaam, but before he had mastered the elements of the language, with rare generosity, he recommended his tutor for a vacant bishopric in Southern Italy, to which he was appointed and thus deprived himself of his tuition, and ever after remained in bondage to Latin.

Both Petrarch and Boccaccio were equally eager for literary fame, and both of them hoped to attain immortality by their Latin rather than by their Italian works, but their fame rests to-day upon their Italian writings rather than their Latin.

It may be said, therefore, that in thus looking up to Latin literature in a new spirit and in resuming the long intermitted interest in Greek, Petrarch and Boccaccio stand side by side as the discoverers of a new world which is represented by the awakening of a strong sense of human individuality, by the re-awakening of the human spirit from the trance of the Middle Ages, by the acceptance of the old classical literature as distinctly human and humanising, and by the recognition of a new and vital perception of the dignity of man which was the essence of humanism.

Until the time of Petrarch and his immediate precursors it was a new and rare thing to find any serious interest in learning outside the clerical order, and it is quite possible to account for the slow growth of the new spirit of freedom which began to awaken in the twelfth century through the absence, outside the religious houses, of those records of intellectual achievements in that golden age when literature was cultivated for her own sake.

Those records had been enshrined in the classical literature of Greece and Rome, which in the early years of the Middle Ages were threatened with the disaster of destruction by the hands of the barbarians, but were rescued by the members of the religious orders and husbanded for posterity.

In the later centuries of the Middle Ages many of the abbots and monks lost the love of learning which was characteristic of their predecessors, with the result that the classical manuscripts were sadly neglected and were either destroyed or allowed to fall into decay.

One of the achievements of the Revival was the recovery of large numbers of the Latin and Greek classics which lay neglected upon the shelves of the libraries or in the lumber lofts of many of the monasteries. In 1333 Petrarch experienced the joy of discovering two speeches of Cicero in one of the religious houses that he visited in his quest for his beloved classics. In 1345 he discovered a volume containing a number of letters of Cicero, the other half of which, containing Cicero's letters to his familiar friends, was discovered in 1389 by Coluccio Salutati, the learned Secretary of Florence.

Another member of the Florentine circle who captured something of the spirit of Petrarch and Boccaccio was Niccolò Niccoli, a famous scholar and copyist, who for several years directed the operations of the agents of Cosimo de Medici in acquiring ancient manuscripts in foreign lands. He not only collected manuscripts but collated the various readings he found in different copies of the same text, rejected obvious corruptions and restored the true text, and in so doing laid the foundations for textual criticism. At his death it was found that he possessed eight hundred manuscripts, mainly copied in his own hand,

which were destined to find a home in the Medicean Library at Florence.

Among Niccoli's younger correspondents was Poggio Bracciolini, whose main activity as a collector of manuscripts is comprised within the years 1414 and 1418, which mark the beginning and end of the Council of Constance. Hitherto the quest had been mainly restricted to Italy and France, now it was extended to Switzerland and Germany. Poggio was one of the most successful explorers, having, as one of the Papal Secretaries, exceptional opportunities during two years when the Papal See was virtually vacant.

Within easy reach of the scene of the Council were several monasteries which in turn were explored by Poggio and two friends, both of whom were pupils of Chrysoloras. At St. Gallen they found the abbot and his monks absolutely uninterested in literature, and in one of the towers they found many precious manuscripts lying amidst the dust and damp of a noisome cell. Here it was that Poggio found a complete copy of Quintillian's "*Institutio oratoria*," a work Petrarch had known only in a mutilated form. He carried it off and made a copy of it which kept him occupied for fifty-three days. In other unnamed houses he found other classics which had been lost and at the time were unknown, including a complete Lucretius.

Interest in the recovery of these lost classics was growing and news of the discoveries was sent to the furthest limits of the civilized world.

From a monastery in Northern Europe rumours of a complete manuscript of Livy reached Poggio, but these rumours led to no result. Of the one hundred and forty books of which his works were composed only twenty-nine have come down to us.

Poggio was associated in all with the recovery and preservation of the whole or part of fifteen authors: six poets and nine prose writers.

Other of the humanist scholars were equally keen in their search but were less fortunate.

These discoveries and recoveries were of immense importance and were made principally during the century which intervened

between Petrarch's first find and 1438, when the Sicilian scholar Aurispa discovered a copy of Pliny's lost Panegyric. It may be said that the principal Latin classics had been discovered and few remained to be found.

Interesting and important as were these new finds they were few in comparison with the great bulk that had safely descended to us through the Middle Ages to the time of Petrarch.

Another achievement of the Revival was the introduction of a new system of education, which was to revolutionize the existing methods and inaugurate an entirely more human and liberal system.

This new system was based upon classical models and was introduced by four scholars, of whom we may speak as humanist educators.

We propose to deal with these humanist educators in a subsequent issue.

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The literature dealing with the Renaissance is so extensive that we can do no more than select a few of the more significant works which are available to readers in the John Rylands Library.

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Note on MARLORAT'S *Exposition of the Revelation of St. John.*

Translator A. GOLDING. Imprinted at London by HENRIE BINNEMAN, for LUCAS HARISON and GEORGE BYSHOP, anno 1574. Black letter. Quarto.

THIS book was printed fourteen years before the ARMADA sailed, and when Shakespeare was a boy of about ten. The date accounts for its "EMPHATICALL KIND OF SPEACH", as stated in a marginal comment in MSS. on p. 265*b*. RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL ADVERSARIES are denounced vehemently and with wearisome reiteration throughout its 635 pages. The date also assures us that the peculiar words and expressions with which the book abounds must have been familiar to literary men of the time. With many of its religious convictions we may be out of sympathy to-day; but as a mine of curious phrases it has been worth a careful survey.

No doubt most of its verbal curiosities, apart from varieties in spelling, are to be found in Murray's *Oxford Dictionary* [M.O.D.].

Golding liked to create long words, unbroken by hyphen,—LONGLASTEDNESS (255), GLANCINGLY (276*b*), FLABERSAUCES (to drink) (290), BASTARDSHIP (185), CUTTEDLY (132*b*), BROTHER-QUELLER (of CAIN) (169), COURTMATTERS (281*b*).

"BLIND HASTELERS" (87*b*) meaning 'turn-spits' is an unusual form of vituperation; "TAKEN TARDIE WITH THE FAULT" (178) is redundant for "being tardy", i.e. taken in the act [see M.O.D.]. We get "fightful" (124*b*) for pugnacious; and "FLIGHTFUL" for temporary, a Golding word which puzzled our MSS. commentator at p. 266. "Battling" (feeding) pastures (113*b*) here appears twenty-five years before its earliest record in M.O.D. A man often "tries all the ways to the wood to" (104) do something; others "love their brethren from the teeth outward, but not in deed or in truth" (67*b*).

"PELTING", trivial (155 and 187), appears in Shakespeare ; but perhaps the following are of special interest as throwing some light on passages in HAMLET.

(a) "RESTIE", meaning indolent or lazy (58), is found but not "RUSTY". Act II, Scene ii, when the Play Actors are mentioned.

1st Quarto—*Ham.* How comes it that they travell? Do they grow RESTIE?

Gil. No, my lord, their reputation holds as it was wont.

1st Folio —*Ham.* How chanches it they TRAUUAILE? . . . Doe they hold the same estimation they did when I was in the city? Are they so follow'd?

Rosin. No, indeed they are not.

Ham. How comes it? doe they grow rusty?

Rosin. Nay, their INDEAUOUR KEEPEES IN THE WONTED PACE; But there is Sir an AYRIE of CHILDREN, etc., etc.

It is possible that "restie" was the original word, becoming obsolete by 1623.

(b) 'Quiddities' (128, 228b) is one of Hamlet's expressions in the Grave Digger Scene, but here used rather of Philosophers than of Lawyers.

(c) One of the commonest phrases in Golding's translation is "to do one to understand", meaning "to make one understand", e.g. "He doth us to understand" (35, etc.). "We be done to understand" (302b).

This may sound peculiar to modern ears, but it is amply recorded in M.O.D.

With this phrase in mind we may approach more hopefully the famous CRUX (Act I, Sc. 3) just before the Ghost appears to HAMLET for the first time.

The 2nd Quarto, which is the sole authority, gives a reading something like

"THE DRAM OF EALE

DOETH ALL THE NOBLE SUBSTANCE OF A DOUBT
TO HIS OWN SCANDAL".

The word "DOUT" (small d) and the word "ACT" (with capital A) in sixteenth-century writing can be practically identical. Because the capital A had two large loops and no cross bar ; so that "A" and "do" may be very much alike. This gives a reading something like the following :

" THE DRAM OF E'EL
DOTH ALL THE NOBLE SUBSTANCE OF TO ACT
TO HIS OWN SCANDAL "

which, if correct, is a noble sentiment and appropriate to the context.

The same sort of error in reading "do" for "A" may be responsible for calling King James's poet and the writer of "sombre tragedies" the Swannet of DOUEN (and not of AVON). S. DANIEL, "Philotas", 1605. Epistle to the Prince [M.O.D. under "Swannet"].

(d) At p. 225 MARLORAT states that the "DISEASE OF NAPLES" first appeared (i.e. in Europe) about 1524. This is the disease which, under its commoner name, the Grave Digger takes such relish in describing in its relation to Corpses. Although this had a contemporary allusion, like the CHILD Play Actors, it was for the history of Hamlet the Dane a complete anachronism.

FRANCIS BUCKLEY.

